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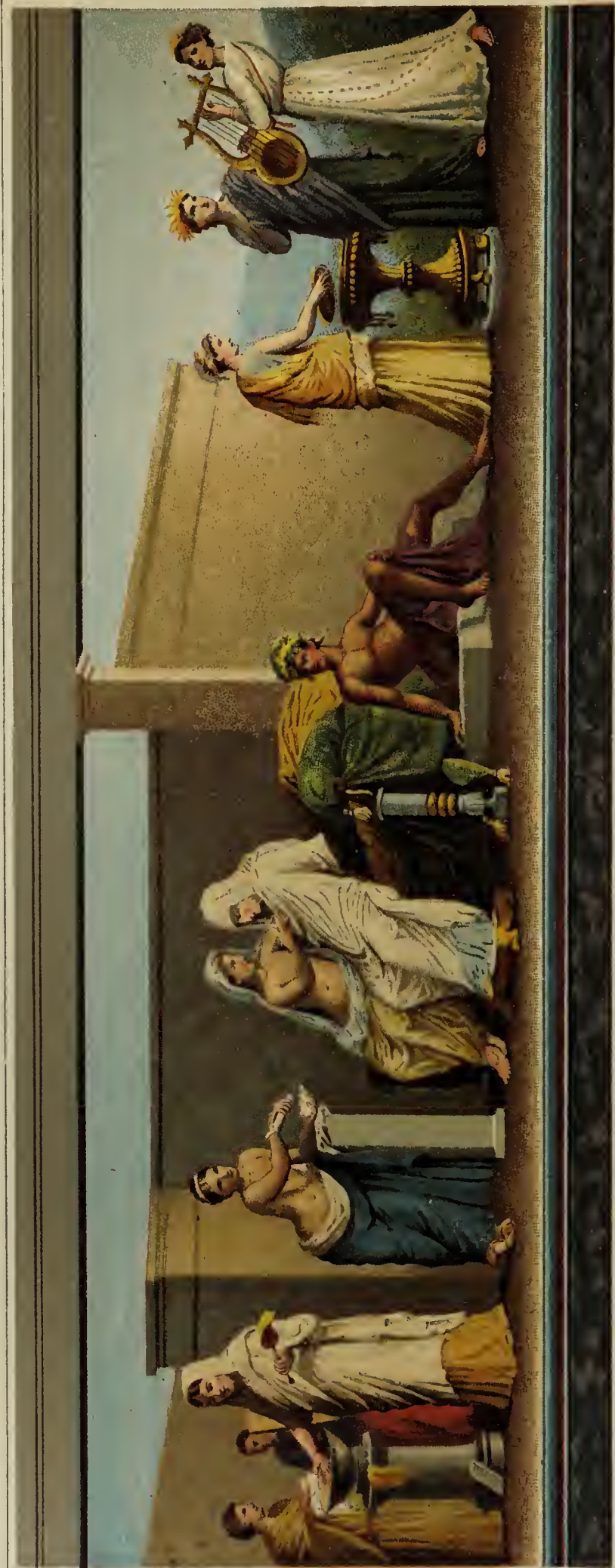




Georgianna Snow.

From C. H. F.

July 25, 1899



ANTIQUE FRESCO, " THE MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS "





# HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE  
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

*TRANSLATED BY M. M. RIPLEY.*

EDITED BY

THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

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as gladiators are serving as public slaves, some of them with wages. What is to be done?" — "Execute the sentences, except in the case of those whose condemnation dates back more than twenty years."

"A man who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by Bassus has remained in the province without making use of the right given him by a *senatus-consultum*, after the rescinding of the acts of Bassus, to claim within two years a new judgment." — "He has disobeyed the law; send him to the prefects of the *praetorium* for a more rigorous punishment."

"Those assuming the *toga virilis*, marrying, beginning some public work, or entering on the exercise of a magistracy, are accustomed to invite the decurions and many people, — sometimes more than a thousand persons, — and to give each one a denarius or two. I fear these reunions are assemblies forbidden by your edicts." — "You are right. But I intrust it to your prudence to reform all the abuses of this province."

"A great fire has devastated Nicomedia. Would it not be well to establish a society of a hundred and fifty artisans charged with the duty of looking after fires?" — "No; corporations are good for nothing."

This correspondence gives us an unfavorable opinion of Pliny. Timid, undecided, hesitating about everything, as governor of a great province he makes a sorry figure.<sup>1</sup> Trajan, on the contrary, is clear and precise; he replies like an experienced and just master, commands without verbiage, and in everything makes the law respected. Beneath his affectionate words to "his very dear Secundus,"<sup>2</sup> one perceives the impatience of a superior whom an incapable subordinate disturbs every day with trifles. But what especially appears from this correspondence is the proof of the imperial omnipotence and of the formidable progress that the centralization has made. It is true that, without a strong general administration, affairs of the state are not attended to, and local affairs run the risk of being badly managed; but to invade everything, — civil and penal laws of cities, the administration of finances, the care of highways and of public works, — was too

<sup>1</sup> Yet he sought, after the example of Cicero, to give counsel to a governor. Compare the two letters (Pliny, viii. 24, and Cicero, *Ep. ad Quint.* i. 1), and you have the measure of the difference between the two men.

<sup>2</sup> The younger Pliny's name was *C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus*.

much. Already it could almost be said that not a paving-stone in the provinces could be disturbed without a petition to Rome, whether it were a question of covering a muddy stream, or of removing a dead person whose tomb had fallen in; and a courier was sent to Rome to ask what guard should be placed at the door of a prison.

Thus the Emperor makes the law, and, by himself or his lieutenants, decides the particular cases; he governs the Empire, and we may say that he administers the cities, for he does not



TRAJAN, CROWNED WITH LAUREL, WEARING THE PALUDAMENTUM.<sup>1</sup>

hesitate to look into all their affairs, whether these towns are simply municipalities fallen under the power of Rome by conquest, or cities allied and free joined to the Empire by a treaty. Trajan, it is true, respects their laws and their privileges, because he is shrewd and wise; but his legate knows that the Emperor might at will change everything. After reading this official correspondence, we see clearly what the Roman world will become when the Emperor, instead of being Trajan, is Commodus or Elagabalus. We are as yet only in the

second century, and we behold the beginning of the evil which is to undermine the Empire. Trajan speaks of persons who are made to enter the senate against their will,<sup>2</sup> and Pliny already regards the municipal magistrates as slaves of the public interest.

<sup>1</sup> Camco. Sardonyx of three layers,  $3\frac{2}{10}$  in. by  $1\frac{9}{10}$ . *Cabinet de France*, No. 240.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Qui inviti fiunt decuriones* (Pliny, *Epist.* 114). That often occurred; the law of Malaga takes prevision of the case.



It will be said that Pliny had a special mission;<sup>1</sup> that, like Libo later, under Marcus Aurelius,<sup>2</sup> he had obtained of the Emperor permission to ask his advice in doubtful cases; that, finally, all the legates did not overwhelm the master with so many inquiries. This may be the case; but we cannot affirm it, since the official correspondence has perished with this single exception. In any case, whether the Emperor decides at Rome, or the proconsul gives judgment on the spot, the result is the same, —the dependence of the provincials. Emperors like Caligula and Nero, entirely occupied with their pleasures, allow things to go as they will; rulers like Tiberius and Vespasian, who find the task of governing the Empire sufficiently burdensome, give no thought to the petty details of the administration of cities; Trajan, a man accustomed to command and discipline, wishes to have order in everything, and this leads him to look everywhere. He had already created the *curatores*, to control the finances of certain towns; he sent commissioners extraordinary to suppress abuses in them. This was well. But these measures placed the government on a slope where it slipped easily downward, until it came to interfere, according to its good pleasure, with the smallest affairs, and stop them at will. A freedman of Vespasian offers to the Caerites to construct at his own expense a hall for their Augustales, on condition that they give him the ground; the municipal council cedes the land: but the consent of the curator is requisite, and that official delays ten months before giving it.<sup>3</sup>

The most important of Pliny's letters relates to the Christians. They had not justified the fears at first inspired by their adoration of the Crucified, which had appeared to some a menace of revolt. Saint Paul had preached submission to authority, "to the power who is the minister of God;" and Saint Peter wrote, "Honor all men."<sup>4</sup> The Church did not even labor directly to destroy slavery, that foundation of pagan society. Believers had slaves, and Christian slaves, to whom Saint Peter said: "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."<sup>5</sup> They accordingly lived peaceably

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 407-415.

<sup>2</sup> *Se scripturum esse si quid forte dubitaret* (Capito, *Verus*, 9).

<sup>3</sup> Egger, *Examen des hist. d'Auguste*, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> *Romans*, xiii. 1-7, and *I. Peter*, ii. 13, 17.      <sup>5</sup> *I. Peter*, ii. 18, and Paul, *Colossians*, iii. 22-24.

and quietly, making converts among the poor by virtue of that charity which revealed to them brethren in all the unfortunate. But the essential condition of their religion was prayer in common. Now Trajan did not like associations;<sup>1</sup> we have just seen that he would have none, not even against conflagrations, and that too great assemblages, though for a festival, were an object of suspicion to him. He perceived, without being able to account for it, a secret power, as it were, undermining Roman society, and his letters bear traces of the displeasure he felt against everything which sought to go out of the established order. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the secret *agapae* of the Christians appeared to him to be dangerous. Besides, let us remember that, according to the legal enactments of this time, an attack against the gods of Rome was an insult to the Emperor, and that, in consequence of the union of politics and religion, unbelievers in the ruler's apotheosis became rebels against his authority. It is always so. Too often the present and the future are mortal enemies which, in the eternal transformation of things, come into collision and strife. The old world, destined to perish, wrathfully defends itself against that which attacks and will soon destroy it. The hemlock of Socrates, the cross of Saint Peter, the stake of John Huss, the pillory of the Puritans, the Bastille of the Liberals, have had their victims; but the deaths were triumphant. Trajan, narrow-minded and harsh, like all that Roman race, notwithstanding his real greatness was an enemy of novelty and incapable of comprehending what was then approaching. It would even be a matter of profound astonishment to see men such as Tacitus, Trajan, Pliny, Suetonius, and Marcus Aurelius unable to perceive the immense revolution which was in preparation, did not all history testify to the ignorance in which the rulers of the day persist touching the powers that are to rule on the morrow.

"It is, sir," wrote Pliny to Trajan, "a rule which I prescribe to myself, to consult you upon all difficult occasions. I have never been present at the resolutions taken concerning the Christians,

<sup>1</sup> He forbade them all . . . *Secundum mandata tua*, says Pliny, *hetaerias esse vetueram*. Yet he reorganized one of them at Rome; but it was the guild of bakers. "By an admirable foresight," says Aurel. Victor (*De Cæs.* 13), "and in order to maintain perpetual plenty at Rome, he re-established and consolidated the *pistorum collegium*." On the right of association and the colleges or corporations of the Romans, see chap. lxxxiii. sect. 3.

therefore I know not for what causes or how far they may be objects of punishment. And I have hesitated not a little in considering whether the difference of age should not make some variation in our procedures. Are those who retract to be pardoned? Must they be punished for the name, although otherwise innocent? I have pursued the following method,—I have asked them if they were Christians; and to those who have avowed the profession I have put the same question a second and a third time, and have enforced it by threats of punishment. When they have persevered, I have put my threats into execution. For whatever the character of their religion may be, their audacious behavior and immovable obstinacy require absolute punishment. Some who were infected with the same kind of madness, but were Roman citizens, have been reserved by me to be sent to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

“An anonymous communication was put into my hands containing a list of many persons, some of whom deny that they are, or ever were, Christians; for, repeating the form of invocation after me, they called upon the gods, and offered incense and made libations to your image; and they uttered imprecations against Christ, to which no true Christian, as they affirm, can be compelled by any punishment whatever. I thought it best, therefore, to release them. Others of them have said that they had been Christians, but that they had entirely renounced the error several years before. All these worshipped your image and the images of the gods, and they even uttered imprecations against Christ.

“They affirmed that the sum total of their fault or error had consisted in assembling upon a certain stated day before it was light to sing alternately among themselves hymns to Christ as to a god; in binding themselves by oath not to steal, or rob, or commit adultery, or break their plighted faith, or deny the deposits in their hands whenever called upon to restore them. Their ceremonies having been<sup>2</sup> performed, they separated, and came together again to take a repast, the meat of which was innocent<sup>2</sup> and eaten in common; but they declared that they

<sup>1</sup> The right of appealing to the Emperor was the most important of the privileges which remained to the citizens.

<sup>2</sup> *Cibus innoxium*; to reply to the accusation often brought against Jews of immolating human beings.



had desisted from this custom since my edict, wherein by your commands I had prohibited all assemblies. From these circumstances I thought it necessary to try to gain the truth, even by torture from two women who were said to officiate at their worship. But I could discover only an obstinate kind of superstition, carried to great excess. And therefore, postponing any resolution of my own, I have waited the result of your judgment. To me an affair of this sort seems worthy of your consideration, principally from the multitude involved in the offence. For many persons of all ages, of all degrees, and of both sexes are already and will be constantly brought into danger by these accusations. Nor is this superstitious contagion confined only to the cities; it spreads itself through the villages and the country."

As a good courtier, Pliny adds that the evil may be stopped, that it is so already, since the deserted temples behold the crowd returning, that the sacred rites are again performed, and the victims, which hitherto had few purchasers, are now sold everywhere; and like a kindly man who would not send inoffensive persons to punishment, he asks the Emperor to grant pardon on repentance.

Trajan does not appear to have been greatly moved by the contradictory picture which his legate had sketched, — this impious contagion which was reaching the towns and hamlets, this new life which was displaying itself in the temples; and he refused to take any general measures. "In an affair of this vague nature," he says, "it is impossible to lay down any settled form. The Christians need not be sought after. If they are brought into your presence and convicted, they must be punished. But anonymous informations ought not to have the least weight in any accusation whatever."

We have seen from the measures adopted in the case of the Druids by Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius what an arsenal of laws the Republic had bequeathed to the Empire wherewith to smite religions hostile to the Roman faith. Accusations of treason, sacrilege, illicit associations, and magic could be made against the Christians, and to all was attached the death-penalty. Trajan, averse to secret assemblies, did not, however, authorize prosecutions under this head against men of humble condition and represented

as inoffensive; but he did not permit public insults to the gods of the Empire, and with the peculiar constitution of the Roman state, with that official religion to which reference has so often been made, he could not permit them. Hence his reply, "Do not make search for the guilty, but punish those who by overt acts outrage the altars of the country."

This sentiment was so thoroughly Roman that two persons of consular rank, of very peaceable disposition, express themselves on this subject in the same fashion at two centuries' distance from each other. "Let no one," says Cicero, "have peculiar gods; let no one introduce new or strange gods, unless they have been admitted by public authority."<sup>1</sup> And under Alexander Severus, Dion Cassius makes Maecenas recommend to Augustus to punish the worshippers of false gods.<sup>2</sup>

Like orders, called forth by similar requests, were doubtless sent elsewhere; and what took place in Bithynia must have occurred in other provinces, with even more rigor, wherever governors were found less humane and populations less peaceable, who thought they avenged their gods by crying out in the amphitheatre, "The Christians to the beasts!" Thus the tradition of the Church places under this reign the martyrdoms of Saint Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and of Saint Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, — martyrdoms which we do not recount, because the internal history of the Church does not come within the limits of this general history of the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

The two letters which we have just quoted throw light on several points. Pliny, born under Nero before the burning of Rome, a lawyer, jurisconsult, senator, and consul, mingling in all the political activity of his time, knew very imperfectly when he arrived in Bithynia what a Christian was, — a proof that there had never been as yet any legal information against them, any solemn decision or general persecution.<sup>4</sup> He punishes them because he

<sup>1</sup> *De Leg.* ii. 8 . . . nisi publice adscitos.

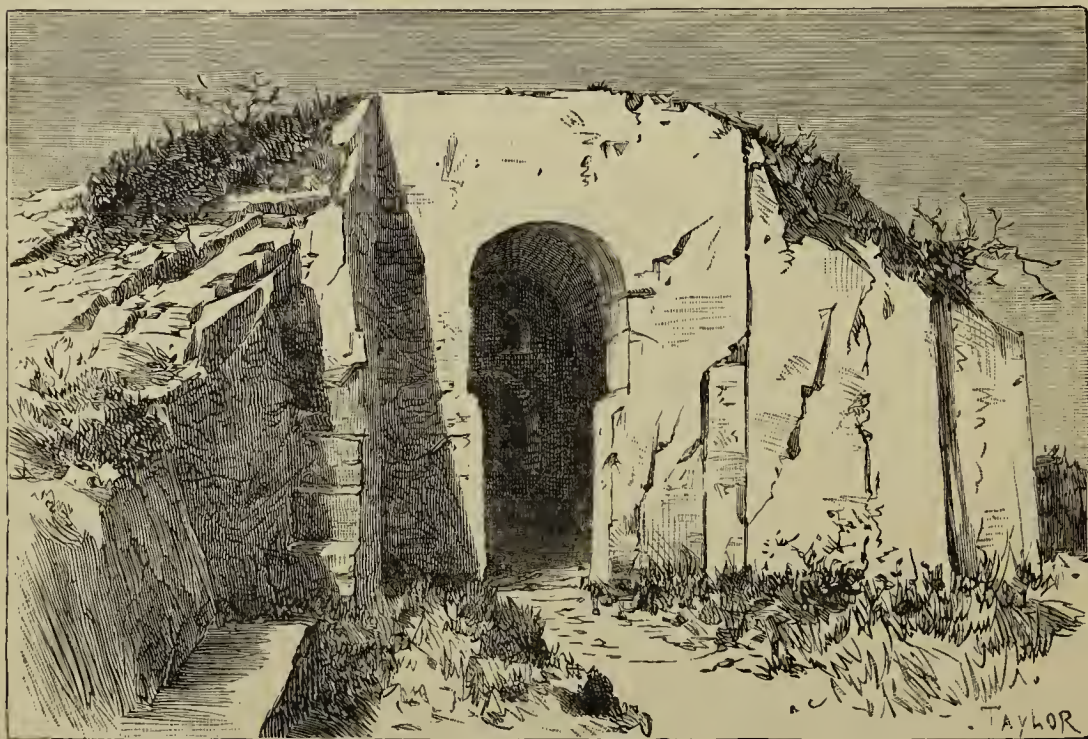
<sup>2</sup> *l. iii.* 36.

<sup>3</sup> There are besides great doubts with reference to the *Acts* of Saint Ignatius, which appear to have been drawn up very long after, — according to Uhlhorn, in the sixth century (cf. *C. I. L.* iii. 103); and the authenticity of his *Letters* is open to much dispute.

<sup>4</sup> We have seen what the persecution under Nero was; under Domitian there was a legal condemnation of certain citizens who, not belonging to the Jewish nation, *Judaized*, —



regards them as in revolt against the Empire, as contemners of its gods; against the civil law, by gathering in illegal assemblies; against the proconsular authority, by refusing obedience to himself. At the same time he tells of the simplicity of their faith, the innocence of their lives, of these fraternal love-feasts, these hymns



TOMB AT DELPHI.<sup>1</sup>

which were their whole ritual, and the fundamental character of this religion of the poor, which caused him to select for torture, as persons specially informed, two women of the humblest station. In truth they and he in spirit belonged to two different worlds, and while speaking the same language, could not comprehend each other. Hence I am certain that Trajan, the rigorous

that is, abandoned the national faith; the words of Pliny prove that among these *Judaizers* were included the Christians, since he condemned some before having received Trajan's reply. This Emperor was the first to withdraw from the Christians, without distinction of origin, the privilege of the legal toleranee which had been granted to the seetaries of foreign religions. But there was, under him, no search, no *inquisitio*; the public manifestation was punished, which was of itself alone a public revolt against the law and the magistrates. Hence there was only a small number of martyrs until the great perseeution of Decius (Origen, *Adv. Cels.* iii. 8). Even then, a church so flourishing as that at Alexandria only reckoned seventeen martyrs, — eleven men and six women (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 41); and almost always the remains of the victims could be rescued.

<sup>1</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.* pl. 39.

guardian of military and civil discipline, sent a Christian to punishment with no more hesitation or remorse than if it had been a question of a refractory soldier or of a fugitive slave.<sup>1</sup> These cruelties are revolting to us, and these violations of the rights of conscience make us indignant. But it must be considered that the contemporaries of Trajan thought as he did, and could not think otherwise; that to them the Christians were rebels; and that in fact these men, who were about to break up the old order of things, really were the greatest revolutionists the world had yet seen. We are with them against their persecutors, though sadly forced to confess that the lot which they experienced was the lot of all reformers, the same which they themselves afterwards inflicted on those who undertook to replace an old law by a new one.<sup>2</sup>

Trajan, who inscribes on the penal code of Rome a new crime, that of Christianizing, attempts at the same time to re-establish the masters of Olympus upon their crumbling thrones. In a long inscription, recently discovered, we have proof of his solicitude to restore to the ancient gods their honors and to an old institution its authority. In the time of Strabo, Delphi was very poor, although the domain of the temple was very rich, since a single one of its forests of olives, on a spur of Parnassus, now yields an annual revenue equal to seventy thousand drachmas. But this domain had been invaded on all sides by neighboring cities, despite a solemn judgment of the amphictyons, who, a hundred and ninety years before our era, had fixed its limits. Trajan intrusted to one of the great men of the Empire the duty of making the amphictyonic decision respected as sovereign law, of restoring

<sup>1</sup> The number of the condemned must have been very small, for neither Tertullian (*Apol.* v.), nor Melito (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26), nor Laetantius (*De Morte persecutorum*, chap. iii.) counted Trajan among the persecutors. From Domitian, says Lactantius (*ibid.*) to Decius, *multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt*. Christian inscriptions dating back with certainty to the third century — that is, one century after Trajan — are however very rare (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1867, p. 168). M. de Rossi dates two of them in 107 and 110 (*Inscr. Christ. ant.* 2 and 3).

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian expressly says: *Sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. Summa haec causa immo tota est* (*Apol.* x). It must be added that the law of treason not only involved the penalty of death, but also of torture (Paulus, *Sent.* v. 29, sect. 2). Besides, Tertullian well understands that these two societies are absolutely incompatible with each other. "The Emperors," says he, "would have believed in Christ, had not Caesars been necessary to the world, or if they could have been at once Christian and Caesar. . . . *Si aut Caesares non essent saeculo necessari, aut si et christiani potuissent esse Caesares*" (*Apol.* xxi.).



to the god his property, and setting in place again the twenty-six consecrated boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Was this pious zeal on his part? Not at all. To Apollo and his associate divinities Trajan was perfectly indifferent. But after the example of Augustus and Vespasian, he considered the official religion as a necessity of public order. He was pre-eminently a conservator, and we must recognize the fact that he could not be otherwise.

#### IV. — THE PARTHIAN WAR.

WITH the exception of his measures against the Christians, Trajan had played his part well as master of the Roman world. The vast machine of government, so many times disarranged by intrigues, plots, and civil war, was in perfect repair and worked with regularity, driven by three motive powers, in constant action, — order in the cities, justice in the administration, and respect on the part of the subjects for the law and for him who represented it.

After a few years, therefore, the Emperor felt that he had gained, by his labors in time of peace, the right again to gratify his military tastes, and by new victories to revive men's recollections of his Dacian triumphs. Moreover, he was fifty-nine, or, it may be, sixty-two years old. If he did not now take up arms again, he never would, and his renown would be limited to the capture of some rude towns and the defeat of certain tribes whom his legates had been able to drive before them. Britain was too narrow a theatre, — good, indeed, for Claudius; the Germans afforded no pretext for any war; Dacia was becoming Latinized peaceably; and from the mountains of Caledonia to the borders of the Euxine no field of battle presented itself where any far-sounding exploit could be performed. On the south bank of the Mediterranean the Empire had reached an impassable frontier, — the desert. There was then nothing to be done, either in Europe or in Africa; or at least, so he thought. There remained Asia. In this direction one might find to accomplish what complaisant history styles great deeds; for instance, to make Armenia an outpost

<sup>1</sup> Wescher, *Mém. des Sav. étr. de l'Acad. des inscr.* pp. 54 seq., and *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 566. Cf. *Additum.* p. 987.





VIEW OF DELPHI (CASTRI), FROM THE SOUTHWEST.





against Asiatic barbarism, as Dacia was against European; to subdue the Euphrates and the Tigris, as the Rhine and the Danube had been conquered; in a word, to finish in the East the work of consolidating the frontiers of the Empire. It was the reasoning of the reign of Trajan. But for him war was above all things an ardent desire for military fame,<sup>1</sup> and he was right in having himself represented on his Arch of Triumph sacrificing to Mars: this was the god whom he had best served.

The cause of the expedition was an attempt of the Arsacidæ to re-establish their influence in Armenia. Chosroes had succeeded in placing his nephew Exedares on the throne of this country, which the Romans wished at least to keep under their influence; and Trajan had not forgotten that the court of Ctesiphon had doubtless lent an ear to the overtures of the Decebalus to form a vast coalition which was to menace the Empire in Asia while the Dacians attacked it in Europe. The Emperor went during the winter of 113 to Athens, where Chosroes, disturbed by the magnitude of the preparations which threatened him, sent him a humble embassy, with rich presents, limiting his demand to a request that



TRAJAN OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO MARS.<sup>2</sup>

the Roman should grant the kingdom of Armenia to another of his nephews, Parthamasiris. The Emperor sent back the embassy and the presents, and said that he would make known his answer when he should be on the banks of the Euphrates. At the opening of the year 114 he arrived at Antioch; and that all the capitals might possess trophies of his Dacian war, he deposited in the temple of Jupiter Kasios some offerings which Hadrian celebrated in Greek verse.<sup>3</sup> "To Jupiter Kasios, master of the

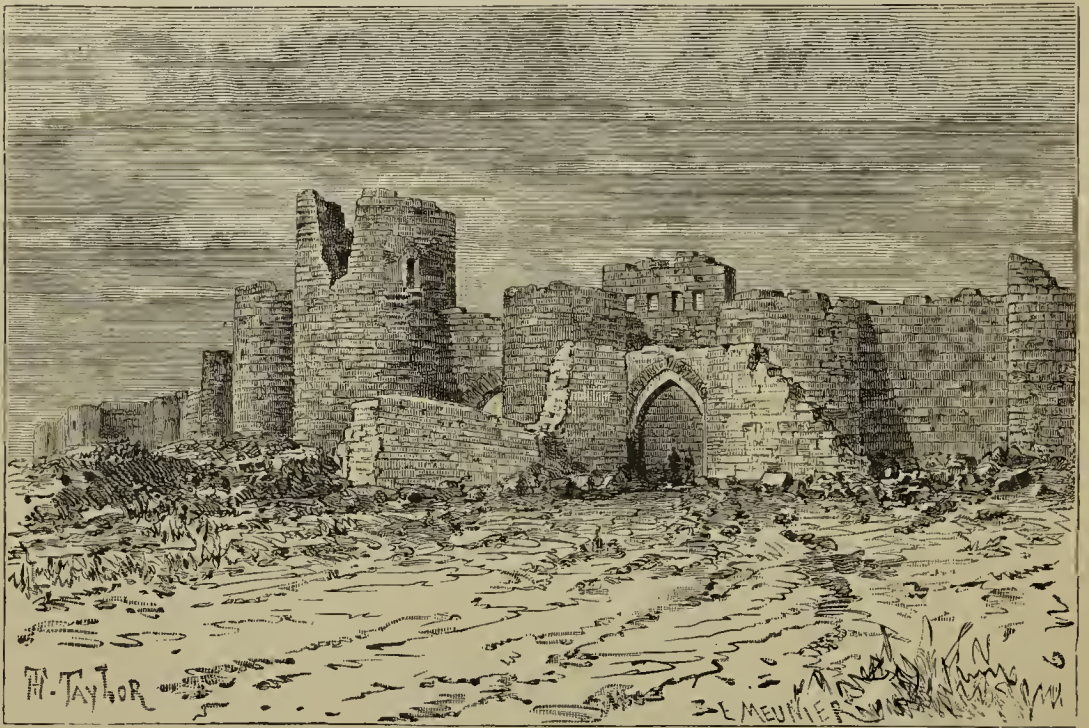
<sup>1</sup> . . . Τῇ δ' ἀλεθείᾳ, δόξης ἐπιθυμία (Dion, lxxviii. 17). Dierauer (*Gesch. Traj.* p. 153) combats very justly the motives which Merivale assigns for the expedition of Trajan to the East, and which the English historian draws chiefly from the fear inspired in this ruler by the Christians, about whom he hardly concerned himself, and by the Jews, to whom he gave no attention.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a bas-relief of the Arch of Trajan, now in the Arch of Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthol. palat.* vi. 332.

gods, Trajan, the son of Aeneas and master of men, makes this offering, — two richly carved cups and a wild bull's horn adorned with gold. From the haughty Getae he took them, having with his lance slain the Barbarians. Thou whose head is hidden by clouds, O god, grant him now the victory in the Achemenidian war, and thou shalt receive double spoils, — those of the Arsacides, together with those of the Getae."

The military events of the years 114–117 are very imperfectly known to us, and the chronology of the Parthian campaigns is



FORTRESS SERVING AS TREASURY AND TOMB TO THE KINGS OF ARMENIA.<sup>1</sup>

uncertain. Trajan had first to re-establish discipline in the disorderly and seditious legions of the Eastern provinces. He applied his customary severity, and everything yielded to this energetic hand. He entered on the campaign in the very heart of summer, and ascended the valley of the Euphrates as far as Greater Armenia. In his first letter, Parthamasiris had assumed the title of king; it was sent back without reply. In a second he suppressed the title, but asked that the governor of Cappadocia should be sent to

<sup>1</sup> Now Ani, on the left bank of the west branch of the Euphrates (*Kara-su*), and anciently called Camacha, "the corpse." The remains of Roman ramparts are seen there (Texier, *Arménie*, pl. 15 or 16).



treat with him. The Emperor summoned him to a personal interview. The Armenian hesitated to confide himself to the Roman good faith; but as the legions continued advancing, he finally came to the camp, and saluted the Emperor, who was seated upon his tribunal, with the entire army drawn up behind him: the king laid down his crown at Trajan's feet, and, erect, silent, with the grave dignity of the Orientals, waited until he should be permitted to take up his diadem. At the sight of this Arsacid, of this uncrowned king who seemed to them a captive, the soldiers sent up an immense shout, as after a victory, and proclaimed their general imperator. The king, brought into the midst of the camp, was required to set forth his requests. "But I have not been conquered!" he exclaimed; "I have not been made prisoner! It is of my own free-will that I have come, in the expectation that my kingdom would be rendered to me by you, as it was to Tirdates by Nero." "Armenia," replied Trajan, "belongs to Rome, and shall have a Roman governor." Some Armenians and Parthians had accompanied the king to the camp. Trajan retained the Armenians, as being already his subjects, and suffered the others to go away with Parthamasiris, giving them an escort, to prevent them from holding communication with any one. We do not know in detail what afterwards took place. Eutropius speaks of the murder of Parthamasiris; and in a fragment discovered on a palimpsest, a friend of Marcus Aurelius said: "It is difficult to excuse Trajan in the matter of the death of this king. Doubtless he perished justly in the midst of the tumult which he had excited; but, for the honor of Rome, it would have been preferable that this suppliant should return without harm, than suffer a merited punishment."<sup>2</sup> Was Parthamasiris slain while attempting to escape from his escort? or did they feign an attack, so as to have an opportunity to be rid of him? We do not know; but it is clear that if he did not fall into an ambush



TRAJAN AND PARTHAMASIRIS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Large bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Melior tamen Romanorum fama impune supplex abisset, quam jure supplicium luisset*. It is a fragment of Fronto, the friend of Marcus Aurelius, *ap. Principia historiae*, p. 209 of his *Works*, ed. Naber, 1867.

on his departure, he fell into one on his arrival at home. This fashion of overthrowing a king had nothing heroic in it, and it has left a stain of blood on the hand of Trajan. Neither he nor any one else saw it then. This stranger was a source of anxiety: he had been removed; the political morality of the time was not shocked, and the friend of Marcus Aurelius was perhaps alone in regretting it. At Rome a medal was struck, on which Parthamasiris is represented bare-headed and bending the knee, with the brief and disdainful legend, *Rex Parthus*, without even the name of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Trajan, by his renown and by the imposing mass of his forces, caused such consternation that the peoples and kings, from the Euphrates to the Caucasus, and from the Euxine to the Caspian, submitted without a struggle. For two centuries Rome had looked forward to this conquest, and with reason; for it would give her the key to one of the gates of Asia, the Caucasus, whose narrow defiles<sup>2</sup> can so easily be rendered impassable, and it would secure in Armenia an excellent position for attack or defence. In Rome's hands the lofty mountains of this country could be made an impregnable fortress, covering Asia Minor, and even Syria. Forts judiciously placed at the head of the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates would render any attack against their rich provinces impossible, or at least exceedingly dangerous for the assailant. In fact, before reaching the two great passes of the river at Thapsak and Zeugma, where the last hills of the Amanus<sup>3</sup> disappear, a Parthian army would have been constrained to march along the foot of the Armenian mountains, at the constant risk of being taken in flank or turned. Farther towards the south, the desert protects Syria, — a strong defence until the day when,

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, ii. *Trag.* Nos. 207 and 376. See the coin given on p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> The Caucasus, whose highest point, the Elbruz, exceeds by nearly 3,280 feet the height of Mont Blanc, has really but one practicable pass, that of Dariel, which attains, at Kreuzberg, an altitude of more than 8,200 feet, and is so narrow that at the place called the Caucasian Gates it is supposed to have been formerly closed by gates of iron. The chain sinks, at its two extremities, into the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea.

<sup>3</sup> Mount Amanus, which runs from the Euphrates to the sea, absolutely hems in Asia Minor, leaving only two narrow passes at its extremities, — on the sea, the Syrian Gates; on the Euphrates, the Amanie Gates. Here the stream scarcely makes a passage for itself through the cataracts between the Amanus and the Taurus, which is connected with the lofty peaks of Armenia. The two mountains thus give to Asia Minor a formidable rampart.

inspired by religious fanaticism, from out those very wastes issued a formidable and unexpected foe.

The occupation of Armenia was therefore required by great interests, and Trajan did well, except as to the means employed, to settle a question which Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Augustus had failed to solve,—some of these generals for lack of time, others for want of skill or resolution. But the more important this acquisition was, the more necessary it became to secure it to the Empire by giving to the new province a civil and military organization which should promptly make it Roman, and to employ for this vast work the forces, resources, and time which Trajan was about to squander in useless expeditions.

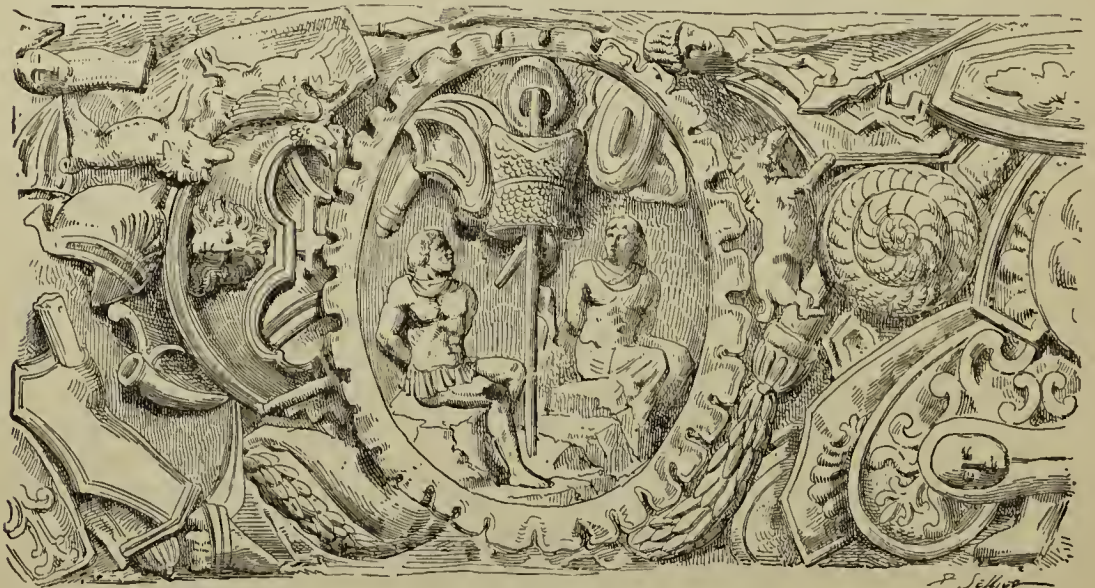
He passed the winter of 114–115 at Antioch, which during his visit was almost destroyed by an earthquake. A great number of notable persons lost their lives by it; the consul, with Vergilianus Peto, was seriously injured, and Trajan had a narrow escape from death. The pagans without doubt attributed this disaster to the wrath of the gods, irritated by the impiety of the Christians, and Saint Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, about that time suffered martyrdom. We have seen that Trajan did not hesitate to consider the Christians as rebels, and when they made public profession of their faith, as rebels who should be punished. He did not then experience any scruples, before a people convulsed with fear, in satisfying at one stroke his gods, the populace, and the cruel laws of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring he crossed the Euphrates (doubtless at Zeugma), and proceeded to Edessa; and thence he sent forward across Mesopotamia a column of advance guard led by Lusius Quietus. It captured the stronghold of Singara, which commanded the road from the desert. He himself carried Nisibis; and as all the chiefs of this region were at war among themselves or in revolt against Chosroes, he was able to reach the borders of the Tigris without difficulty, opposite Adiabene. It was there that Alexander had vanquished Darius and conquered Asia. Trajan delighted to follow

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Acts of Martyrdom* of Saint Ignatius he must have been condemned at Antioch by the Emperor and sent from there to Rome to be thrown to the wild beasts; this is scarcely probable. We have already mentioned the evident intention of the compilers of these *Acts* to furnish a sequel to the last voyage of Saint Paul. Cf. Dierauer, p. 169, No. 3.



the track of the Macedonian hero, whose good fortune he hoped to equal. The Tigris has in this part of its course a broad, deep channel; a fleet was needed to cross it and to insure communications. The remainder of the season was therefore employed in constructing in the forests of Nisibis boats, which were taken apart and carried on carts to the points selected for the passage. Astonished at seeing their river so easily overcome and this barrier destroyed, the Barbarians made no resistance to a spirited assault, which gave to the Romans the left bank. Although this success was not equivalent to the victory of Arbela, it opened, as



TROPHY OF VICTORY.<sup>1</sup>

that did, the road to Babylon, which the Parthians, enfeebled by their feuds, did not venture to blockade. Trajan entered it with the title of "Parthicus," which his soldiers bestowed upon him, and sacrificed to the manes of Alexander in the palace where the hero had expired. This was in the year 116.

Public opinion was dazzled by these facile triumphs. Every day the Senate learned that new peoples had submitted to his sway; that kings consented to receive their crowns from him; that countries bearing the great names Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, which recalled those of Ninus, Semiramis, Xerxes, and Alexander, were subjects of his Empire. With the eagerness of

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief of the Temple of Mars at Merida.



a youthful victor, Trajan hastened to declare the regions traversed by his army to be united forever to the domain of the Roman people. Already Armenia formed one province; he made two others from it, — that of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the foot of the Armenian mountains, and that of Assyria, comprising the eastern valley of the Tigris as far as the chain of the Zagros, which separates it from Media. Meantime great preparations had been made. An entire fleet, brought down the Euphrates, was drawn to the Tigris across the isthmus which extends between the two rivers, in order to attack Ctesiphon.<sup>1</sup> The Parthians defended their capital no better than they did their provinces. Chosroes or his successor fled to the interior of Media; the daughter of the Great King and his throne of massive gold were captured at Susa; and Seleucia, the ancient Greek capital, opened its gates. Master of the principal places of Babylonia, Trajan descended the Tigris with his fleet, receiving on his passage the submission of the chiefs along the banks, and arrived at the Persian Gulf.

TRAJAN WEARING A CUIRASS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, more probably, through the canal called Naharmalcha, "royal river," which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris.

<sup>2</sup> Statue of Parian marble, found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre, Clarac, No. 48). The cuirass, in place of a head of Medusa, bears a mask of Triton. In this has been seen an allusion to the Roman fleets which Trajan sent to the Indian Ocean.

Here, seeing a vessel setting out for India, he exclaimed, "Would that I were younger! I would give to Rome for its frontier the limits of the empire of Alexander!" And the Eternal City, confident as its Emperor, struck medals representing Armenia overthrown and trampled under foot by Trajan, or two Parthians seated on the ground, having before them an empty quiver and a bow unstrung.<sup>1</sup> But these Parthians were to rise again; the quiver was soon to be refilled, the bow would again twang; and the victorious Emperor was to hear, even in his camp, the whirl of those arrows which he thought he had broken.

Already, in fact, defections were occurring everywhere in his rear. Seleucia had risen in rebellion, and the revolt of the towns in the north of Mesopotamia, by which the Roman army had penetrated



TRAJAN PLACING HIS  
FOOT UPON ARMENIA.<sup>2</sup>

into Assyria, threatened to hem in the Romans in the desert. It was to be feared that the expedition would end like that of Crassus. Trajan's generals struck some vigorous blows. Nisibis was recaptured; Edessa and Seleucia, carried by assault, were delivered to the flames. These successes served at least to conceal, under the appearance of victories, a forced retreat.

Trajan even decided, in order to check these dangerous movements, to restore the Parthian royalty, which he had thought to destroy. On his return to Ctesiphon, in the midst of the people and of the army, he placed the crown of "the King of kings" upon the head of an Arsacid, Parthamaspates; then, by the shortest way, he resumed the route to Syria. Detained before the little town of Atra, in a desert without water or forage, he sought to carry it, and was repulsed. A legate and many legionaries perished there; men of his escort were killed around him. "The victorious Emperor, returning to Rome in triumph over so many



TRAJAN AND PARTHA-  
MASPATES.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, ii., *Trajan*, Nos. 318 and 375. See these coins above.

<sup>2</sup> ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P. R. REDACTAE, S. C. Large bronze, Cohen, No. 318.

<sup>3</sup> REX PARTHIS DATVS S. C. Trajan, seated, presenting Parthamaspates, standing, to Parthia, kneeling. Great bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, Cohen, No. 375.





MAP  
FOR  
TRAJAN'S EXPEDITION  
AGAINST THE PARTHIANS

Roman Miles  
0 100 200 300 400 500





nations, marked his route with blood and by the dead bodies of his soldiers.”<sup>1</sup>

The fatigue, the chagrin, and perhaps some malady contracted like that of Alexander in the marshy plains of Babylonia, under-



TRAJAN GIVING A KING TO THE PARTHIANS.<sup>2</sup>

mined Trajan's robust constitution. He reached Antioch, where he bade farewell to his army; but was unable to go farther than Selinus, in Cilicia. He died at that place on the 10th of August, 117.

<sup>1</sup> Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* p. 204: . . . *Legatus cum exercitu caesus, et principis ad triumphum decedentis haudquaquam segura nec incruenta regressio.*

<sup>2</sup> From one of the four bas-reliefs of the Arch of Trajan, now in the Arch of Constantine.

He left the East on fire. In the Island of Cyprus and at Cyrene in Egypt a formidable insurrection of the Jews had broken out, the signal for which seems to have been given by the



STATUE, BROKEN AT ITS LOWER PART, OF A HIGH PRIEST  
OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHIENO, IN CYPRUS.<sup>3</sup>

co-religionists of Mesopotamia,<sup>1</sup> and the recent conquests reverted to their former masters. Once again the Roman Empire, as in the time of Crassus and Antony, was convicted of inability to extend itself beyond the Euphrates and that line of deserts which separates two worlds. The West, even, was disturbed, at least along its borders. The Moors were wearying Africa with their incursions, the Britons were uneasy in their island, and the Sarmatians menaced the provinces of the Danube.<sup>2</sup> Such is the state in which Trajan left the Empire; and history judges reigns by their results, as the tree is judged by its fruit.

He had desired to resume the policy of conquest of the Republic and of Caesar, which Augustus and his successors had abandoned. Was he right? Yes, and no. Yes, in respect to the expedition to Armenia and the conquest of the country

<sup>1</sup> We may conclude from a military order of Domitian that, already under this Emperor, there had been some ferment in Palestine, since we see him, in the year 86, sending troops thither and retaining the veterans on duty.

<sup>2</sup> *Mauri lacessebant; Sarmatae bellum inferrebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditone non poterant* (Spartian, *Hadr.* 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Gazette archéol.* 1878, pl. 36, and p. 192.



of the Dacians; no, as regards those of Babylon and Ctesiphon. We have several times given the reasons which must have arrested the frontier of the Roman Empire at the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris. To go farther in this direction was to go contrary to the nature of things, which is the greatest of forces. It was not the same upon the Danube. Trajan, who was bent on reviving the military spirit of the Romans, did well in conquering Dacia. But he should have completed his work by



TRAJAN IN A CHARIOT DRAWN BY TEN HORSES (FROM A COIN).

planting his eagles on the other side of the Theiss and in Bohemia. Then the Empire would have inclosed within its frontiers the whole valley of the Danube and held the chain of mountains which extends, almost without interruption, from the suburbs of Mayence to the Black Sea, by the already fortified Taunus, by the mountains of Franconia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the Carpathians. Master of this long line of defence, collecting its forces in the provinces situated in the rear, increasing there the number of military posts and the colonies of veterans, and, on the other side of

the mountains, developing in the midst of the Germans the Roman manner of life by commercial relations and the contagion of example, the Empire would have longer resisted the assaults of Barbarism.

But these services would have been without striking effect; and Trajan desired the resounding fame given by the conquest, ephemeral though it was, of the Parthian capitals and by an expedition rivalling that of Alexander. We may, however, terminate the history of this great reign with the same wish that, after the time of Trajan, the Senate always expressed on the accession of a new Emperor, — “May you be more fortunate than Augustus, more valiant than Trajan!” The Middle Ages have taken up this thought, and Dante has placed Trajan in his *Paradiso*.



## CHAPTER LXX.

HADRIAN (117—138 A.D.).

### I.—BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN; FORTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

HADRIAN, the cousin and ward of Trajan,<sup>1</sup> had been carefully brought up according to the best ideas then held respecting education, — perhaps at Athens, where he showed such a strong taste for the literature of the country that he gained the name of “the little Greek.” It is even supposed that Plutarch was his master. Naturally inquisitive, he wished to learn everything, — medicine and arithmetic, geometry and music, judicial astrology and the secrets of the Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>2</sup> He studied all the current philosophic systems, even that of Epictetus, for whom he had a liking, though without following his precepts; he also made pictures and statues, and wrote both verse and prose; but it is probable that his painting was no better than his poetry,<sup>3</sup> of which we have a few specimens. His varied studies had not given him good judgment as regards literature; he preferred Antimachus to Homer, Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, although he consulted, as a trustworthy oracle, the Vergilian *sortes*; and it would seem probable from his false taste in literature that he would not have good judgment in politics, did we not know that great writers are often poor statesmen, and that Richelieu placed Chaplain above Corneille.

<sup>1</sup> Publius Aelius Hadrianns. His family, originally from the country of the Picentini, resided in Italica, in Spain; but he was born at Rome, Jan. 24, 76. His mother was a native of Cadiz, and his grandfather, Marcellinus, was the first of that house who wore the senatorial laticlave. The inscriptions always write Hadrianus, and not Adrianus.

<sup>2</sup> *Curiositatum omnium explorator*, says Tertullian. “He was fond of flute-players, laughed at the buffooneries of mimes, baited the hook, and was assiduous at the palaestra” (Fronto, *Ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.* 3). *Eleusinia sacra . . . suscepit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 13).

<sup>3</sup> . . . *De suis dilectis multa versibus composuit, amatoria carmina scripsit . . . cum professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invicem editis, saepe certavit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 14–15).

Without any solid proofs for the charge, he has been universally reproached for his vanity and his jealousy of superior men, — faults fatal in a ruler to all worthy action; and we shall see that Hadrian did many great things. It is quite certain that, bad as was his taste in literature, he possessed all the military virtues that a prince can show in time of peace; for as Emperor he had no occasion to exhibit them in war, and he governed well, since the Empire was indebted to him for twenty-one years of prosperity. In person he was tall and well made, with a mild and intelligent countenance. It is said that, like Francis I., he introduced the fashion of letting his beard grow, to hide the scars which were on his face. So when in the gallery of imperial busts we study this original face, which does not seem to belong to the race of the Caesars, we are well prepared to find much that is new in the history of his reign. His head, bent as if to listen more closely, his marble eyes, whose look is yet so penetrating, his half-open lips, which seem to breathe, — represent a man who will allow nothing to escape his vigilance or his curiosity. His contemporaries were struck, as we are, with this strange physiognomy; and in setting forth his Gnostic doctrines, which at that time found an entrance into many minds and into all religions, the unknown author of a book, long famous in the East,<sup>1</sup> invented a conversation between the Emperor who desired to know everything and the philosopher who professed to reveal everything.

He rose through all the successive grades of office, was vigintivir, legionary tribune, quaestor (101), — an office which admitted him to the Senate, — tribune of the people, praetor, legionary legate, and finally consul, some months before reaching the legal age.<sup>2</sup> He accompanied Trajan in all his expeditions, and in them proved himself hardened against fatigue, brave in danger, but, besides,

<sup>1</sup> The *Sentences* of Seeundus. Cf. the *Mémoire* of M. Revillout, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1872, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> This is the ordinary *cursus honorum*. The list of his titles is more complete in the inscription of the *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 550, which was found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. Mommsen suggests the following dates, — for the tribunate, 105; for the praetorship, probably 107; for the legateship of Lower Pannonia, the beginning of 108. His first consulship has been fixed, by means of a military diploma recently discovered, in the year 108; that is, when Hadrian was still only thirty-two years of age, and the rule required that he should have been thirty-three. Trajan was thirty-eight when he received the fasces.

invincible at table, — which was another way of gaining favor with the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Having received the command of the legions of Pannonia, he imposed on the Sarmatae respect for his name; on the soldiers, respect for discipline; on the officers of the treasury, moderation.

Trajan had given to him in marriage Sabina, daughter of Matidia and granddaughter of his sister Marciana, — an alliance which brought his ward closer still to the supreme power, since he was now Trajan's nephew. After some successes in the second Dacian war, Trajan had sent him a diamond which he had himself received from Nerva at the time of his adoption, and had also put the young man in a position to do honor to the offices bestowed upon him; the Emperor's liberal gifts, for example, enabled Hadrian to give magnificent games to the people during his praetorship. Finally, relying on his ability as a writer as much as on his political skill, he committed to him the composition of the imperial speeches pronounced before the Senate, which up to that time had been prepared by Licinius Sura. These favors were more than promises. A second consulship and the government of Syria strengthened Hadrian's hopes, who, moreover counted on the Empress; and her affection for him did in fact aid his fortunes, and at the last moment decided them. It is asserted that Plotina extorted from the Emperor just before death the adoption of his nephew. Others went so far as to say that this adoption had never taken place; and the father of the historian Dion Cassius, who was governor of Cilicia under Marcus Aurelius, related to his son that the letters despatched by Plotina to the Senate to inform them of the choice of the new Emperor were forged. A man, it is said, placed in Trajan's bed, had, behind the hangings and in the darkness, whispered in a dying voice that he adopted Hadrian as son and successor.

The mediocre minds whom we have now to consult for information on the history of this period take pleasure in seeking trivial causes for great events. So this governor, whose information is so minute concerning an intrigue which must have been kept very secret, seems to me to have picked up, fifty years after the event, from the gossip of a remote province, a rumor invented to please

<sup>1</sup> "He filled his place well at table at sumptuous dinners" (Fronto, *ibid.*).



the many lovers of wonderful stories. But this story, like so many others set afloat by a system of calumny whose motives are plain, cannot prevail against probability. Trajan would naturally have left the Empire to him whom, in his confidential conversations, he had designated as his successor. The confidant of all his thoughts, Licinius Sura, well knew this, and repeated the secret; and Trajan, in order to facilitate the accession of his nephew to the imperial throne, had beforehand secured the disgrace of those who had the power to oppose it, among others two senators, Palma and Celsus, whom we shall presently see conspiring against the new Emperor. Since the death of Sura, Hadrian was in the whole Empire the man most closely connected to Trajan by consanguinity, by the honors with which he had been invested, by the authority which had



COIN COMMEN-  
ORATIVE OF  
HADRIAN'S  
ADOPTION.<sup>1</sup>

besides been conferred on him, in the command of the largest army and the most important province. To select another successor after having awakened so many hopes and delegated so much power, would have been to cause a civil war; and we have no right to impute this fault to Trajan. The reason why the decree of adoption written at Selinus had not been drawn up at Antioch was, that Trajan had a strong dislike, so long as he did not despair of his own life, to seem to need, like Nerva, a younger colleague to put down seditions. Besides, being desirous, up to the last moment, of treating the Senate considerately, he had wished to proclaim his heir in that assembly, and was on his way thither when death stopped him. As regards the idea that, in neglecting to name his heir, Trajan proposed to imitate Alexander, without having, like him, the excuse of youth, which gave hope of long life to the Macedonian hero, — this is another puerility foreign to so strong a mind.<sup>2</sup> The delay in

<sup>1</sup> Trajan and Hadrian shaking hands; reverse side of a denarius (Cohen, No. 52).

<sup>2</sup> It has also been said that the maternal affection of the staid Plotina for Hadrian arose ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας (Dion, lxi. 1 and 10). Against this charge are the age of Plotina, her reputation, attested by Pliny (*santissima femina*), by medals (cf. Franke, *op. cit.* pp. 29–34, and Cohen, ii. 90), by Dion himself, who forgets in lxi. 1 what he has said in lxxiii. 5: καὶ οὕτω γε εὐτυχὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπιγροίαν σχεῖν; lastly, by the author of the *Epitome*, xlii., who, two centuries later, honored her as the worthy consort of Trajan. The date of her birth is unknown, but it is known that she had been married to Trajan long before his accession; she died in 129. Vopiseus (*Aur.* 14), recounting the different adoptions made by the Emperors, cites that of Hadrian by Trajan.

regulating the succession to the imperial throne was not the less a misfortune, for the powerful conspiracy which threatened Hadrian as early as the year 119 arose from the manner in which he seemed to glide into power, in secret and by the instrumentality of a woman, instead of entering upon it with bold mien, presented by Trajan himself to the Senate, the people, and the army.

Hadrian received news at Antioch of his relative's death from a messenger who preceded by two days the official courier: a circumstance quite comprehensible, without any occasion for supposing a mystery (August 9th and 11th, 117). Thus he had time to make everything ready for a success which, indeed, was certain. His procedure was very simple,—to the soldiers he promised a double *donativum*, to the senators he addressed an exceedingly modest letter. The former were no more capable of resisting the money than the latter were the fair words, backed by seven legions; each received his share, and felt satisfied.

Hadrian had lived for many years in camps. Would he emulate the warlike career of his predecessor? By no means. Augustus once more succeeded Caesar; a genius for administration took the place of a genius for conquest. In fact, while the golden urn which contained the remains of the hero was on its way to Rome, and while the Senate was voting the apotheosis of the deceased Emperor, and a temple and Parthian games in honor of his memory, Hadrian had already abandoned the countries which Trajan had thought to conquer by merely crossing them. Of the four provinces recently formed in the East,—Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Arabia,—he kept but one, the last, because it was out of the reach of the Parthians. It showed wisdom to withdraw the Roman eagles behind the Euphrates and to resume the ancient frontier of the East; but it was a mistake to give up making Armenia an impregnable barrier for the Oriental provinces, which in the hands of the Romans this country would have been. Armenia fell back into that state of uncertain dependence which had always been its relation to the two empires surrounding it.

Hadrian has been accused of seeking, by this conduct, to tarnish his predecessor's glory; yet so strong a conviction existed of the unprofitable character of the recent expeditions that not a murmur

was raised against the new policy; and when he re-entered Rome, in the middle of the year 118, he was received with the customary acclamations. The Senate even wished him to celebrate in his own name the triumph that had been decreed to his predecessor. He refused this double act of injustice, and the statue of Trajan was carried in triumph to the temple of Jupiter; but even this was too much, since there had been in the Parthian war no lasting successes. As regards the Jewish outbreak in Cyprus, on the



DOUBLE CONGIARIUM  
GIVEN BY HADRIAN.<sup>1</sup>

banks of the Nile, and at Cyrene, Hadrian had quelled the last remains of it; but this success was nothing more than a measure in the interests of public order,—the repression of outbreaks which on the spot seemed formidable, but of which no one even made mention at Rome.

The soldiers had received their *donativum*, the people theirs,—at first three pieces of gold (about \$15), and after the conspiracy of Nigrinus a double *congiarium*. Italy was exempted from furnishing the *aurum coronarium*; the provinces gave only a portion of it; and the treasury remitted the arrears which had been due for sixteen years.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the senators, Hadrian pursued the same course that Nerva and Trajan had followed,—he was regularly present at their sessions, and both in the senate-house and the palace, under all circumstances, he lavished on them formal marks of consideration. He had renewed the oath not to condemn any one of them to death; he filled up the senatorial list from all those who had lost their qualification from no fault of their own; and prohibited any senator from appearing before judges who were not of his own rank. When on one occasion he saw a slave of the imperial household walking with two senators, he sent a person



REMISSION OF  
ARREARS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II.; on the exergue, LIBERALITAS AVG. S. C. Hadrian seated on a stage; before him a man making the distribution; behind, Liberty, seated. Large bronze (Cohen, No. 954).

<sup>2</sup> Dion, lxi. 8. The passage in Dion is incomprehensible; but the medal witnesses to the remittance of nine hundred millions of sesterces. Forty-six years after, Marcus Aurelius likewise cancelled all that was due to the treasury since Hadrian.

<sup>3</sup> RELICVA VETERA HS. NOVISS MILIA ABOLITA S. C. A lictor setting fire to a mass of papers. Large bronze (Cohen, No. 1,046).



to strike him on the face, thus to teach the slave to preserve the distance between himself and those who might become his masters. When he received the senators he stood up, remembering, no doubt, that Caesar had made mortal enemies by failing in one case to observe this courtesy towards the Senate. He admitted the most distinguished senators into the number of those then styled the “friends” or “companions” of the monarch, whence



ROME AND  
HADRIAN SHAK-  
ING HANDS.  
GOLD COIN.<sup>2</sup>

later came the title of “counts” (*comites*); he honored several of them with two, even three consulships; he referred to the curia the most important affairs, in place of deliberating on them in his privy council, and prohibited any appeal respecting them to the Emperor from a judgment of the Senate,<sup>1</sup>—a decision very flattering to the Fathers, and without danger

to the ruler, who had no fear that the Senate would ever give any sentence contrary to his opinion. To mark this complete union between the two powers, Hadrian caused medals to be struck, on which are seen Rome contemplating the Genius of the Senate and the Emperor, who grasp each other's hands; other coins of this date had the inscription *Libertas publica*, with the image of Liberty holding the sceptre and wearing the Phrygian cap. The emperor was hidden behind the *princeps senatus*, and these republican appearances were confirmed by republican declarations. “I desire,” he often repeated, “to govern the state in such fashion that it may be seen to be the people's patrimony, and not mine.”<sup>4</sup> He spoke thus, but all men knew that he was the master: the ex-consul Fronto, friend of Marcus Aurelius, avowed later that he always was in great fear of Hadrian; but no man required anything more than the expression of generous sentiments, the world agreeing with common consent to be satisfied with words.



HADRIAN AND LIBERTY.  
GOLD COIN.<sup>3</sup>



He loved to administer justice, and for ordinary cases he fulfilled, in all places and at all times, like the early kings of France, the duties of judge, seated on his tribunal, with the public surround-

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, xlix. 2, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen, No. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, No. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Exsecratus est principes qui minus senatoribus detulissent* (Spart., *Hadri.* 8).

ing him on all sides. On one occasion a woman stopped him in the street and asked leave to submit some matter to him. He refused to hear her, and bade her go away. "Why are you emperor then?" she exclaimed; and he at once listened to what she had to say. In hearing and deciding important cases he was assisted by magistrates of the highest dignity, senators of the first rank, and the most celebrated jurisconsults, whom he asked the Senate's permission to add to his court,<sup>1</sup>—a demand which was again an act of homage rendered to that "most illustrious" order. Consequently, at the first conspiracy which was formed, the Fathers showed their zeal in defending the friend of the Senate.

The plot was dangerous, for it had for its chiefs four men of consular rank, personages of importance in the army or at Rome. How is it that this plot was so speedily formed? Trajan, on the day after his accession, had a panegyrist, as if already he had accomplished actions of note; hardly had his heir reached Rome when he found assassins there. It was for the reason that Hadrian, kept by his uncle in a state of half-obscurity, increased by the dazzling splendor of the great conqueror of Dacia, was as yet only known as a man of culture, and since his accession had had neither time nor opportunity for showing that energy which commands obedience or submission. Trajan, long known as a famous general, had from the beginning of his reign inspired both respect and fear. His successor at first produced no such impression, and there were those even who said that the man whom Plotina had made emperor did not merit the position to which artifice had raised him; while the military chiefs who had crossed the Carpathians or the Tigris, despised "the little Greek," crammed with scholastic lore, whose first act of government had been the abandonment of their late conquests. The conspiracy doubtless was the reaction of the military spirit of the former reign against the civil spirit of the new one. Two generals who had been removed from their positions, Cornelius Palma, conqueror of the Arabs, and Lusius Quietus, the best officer in the army of the East, were the instigators of the plot. The former, who had long been an enemy to Hadrian, had fallen into disgrace with Trajan; the latter, a Moor by race, a restless and violent spirit, had been

<sup>1</sup> *Quos tamen senatus omnis probasset (ibid. 17).*

dismissed from the army,<sup>1</sup> but had regained the favor of Trajan by important services in the wars of Dacia and the East. That Emperor had conferred on him the title of praetor, the consular fasces, and at the time when the Jews of Egypt revolted, the government of Palestine,—doubtless with that of Arabia, to prevent the rebellion reaching the Oriental provinces.<sup>2</sup> Hadrian, who feared his turbulence and ambition, had at first relegated him to the obscure government of Mauretania, and later recalled him on account of the new intrigues which agitated that province.

Lusius and Palma, grown old in service, were not, although ex-consuls, familiar with Rome. They therefore were obliged, for acting in the city, to ally themselves to men who had influence there. Two other men of consular rank, Publicius Celsus and Avidius Nigrinus, were associated in their designs. We know nothing of the former except that he had a second time obtained the consulship in 113, before Hadrian's second consulship. As regards Nigrinus, he must have been well known, although still young, for Trajan had sent him into Achaia on one of those extraordinary missions<sup>3</sup> which were intrusted only to important personages, and Spartianus, who wrote Hadrian's biography with that Emperor's *Memoirs* before him, assures us that the new Emperor, whose marriage still continued without issue, had thought of this person for his successor.<sup>4</sup> But Hadrian was only forty-three; his health was good: the expectation was therefore remote. Nigrinus, whom Spartianus calls "a dangerous intriguer" (*insidiator*), probably thought that he should do well to hasten matters by a conspiracy.

To these four ex-consuls were added many individuals<sup>5</sup> unable to resist the temptation of plotting in secret an enterprise of murder and revolution. Their fathers had been constantly occupied with schemes of this kind under the Flavian and the Julian Emperors, and some of them had remained faithful, even in the

<sup>1</sup> Καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἡτιμώθη (Dion, lxviii. 32).

<sup>2</sup> Dion, lxviii. 32. A rabbinic tradition connects Quietus with two Jews of Alexandria who had come to Palestine to propagate the revolt there (Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 406); but it is just to say that the history of Quietus from Jewish sources is not in agreement with that from Roman sources.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad ordinandum statum civitatum.*

<sup>4</sup> Lucius Verus, adopted later on by Hadrian, was Nigrinus' son-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> . . . multis aliis (Spart., *Hadri.* 7).



reigns of Nerva and Trajan, to the murderous tradition. Every epoch has its moral malady: to our knights of the Middle Age private wars were necessary; duels to the nobles of Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; and riots to modern agitators. For the idlers of the Roman Senate their great amusement and most serious business was a plot. It was agreed to kill Hadrian, either during one of the sacrifices which his position imposed on him, or at one of the hunting expeditions which he loved to carry far into dangerous ground.

The Emperor had just been summoned to the Danube by a movement of the Barbarians. The conspirators were therefore obliged to await his return; but some imprudent expressions revealed their intentions. The Senate speedily instituted proceedings; and knowing well that in a despotic state every rival is, of necessity, a man condemned to death, did the Emperor the service of having the culprits executed without asking orders from him. On his return, the Emperor complained of such prompt justice, declaring that he would have extended pardon, at least in respect to the capital sentence. We may doubt the sincerity of these words spoken after the execution; yet when it is seen that Hadrian, a short time after, dismissed the two prefects of the praetorium who had urged the Senate to these extreme resolutions, and later chose as his adopted son the son-in-law of one of the criminals, we are obliged to believe with Marcus Aurelius that the Fathers showed too great haste in testifying their fidelity. "Hadrian forgot," says his biographer, "those who had been his enemies before he became master." "Now you are saved," he had said to one of them on the day of his accession; and pressed by his old tutor, Caelius Attianus, to rid himself of persons very justly suspected, and notably of the prefect of the city, the most important personage in Rome, he had refused.<sup>1</sup> His whole history shows that he had no taste for blood.

Thus from the first months of his reign Hadrian had renewed and strengthened the alliance of Nerva and Trajan with the senatorial aristocracy. Yet he felt towards them a certain distrust which the recent conspiracy was not likely to have diminished, and

<sup>1</sup> *Tantum autem statim clementiae studium habuit . . .* (Spart., *Had.* 2). This Attianus, so clear-sighted and so severe, was one of the two prefects removed from the praetorship.

he kept always before his mind the remembrance of Domitian and the miserable existence passed by that Emperor at Rome in the midst of terrors and perils.<sup>1</sup> In place of remaining shut up in the capital with his freedmen, whose principal employment was to corrupt their master in order to profit by his vices,<sup>2</sup> and in the presence of the Senate, to whom it was not prudent to show their sovereign too near and too long, Hadrian lived everywhere except at Rome.

This was not, however, because he limited his care simply to securing his personal safety. On the contrary, we find him to be the ruler who understood better than any other Roman emperor all the duties of his position. "If any misfortune happen to me, I intrust to you the provinces," Trajan had said to the jurisconsult Priscus, whom he judged worthy of the Empire. Hadrian never forgot this expression; and since in everything his will was sovereign, he thought it his duty to see everything before deciding. His reign is, in fact, only a long series of journeys through the provinces, whose wants he strove to learn by studying them on the spot, that he might avoid the mistakes, the omissions, and the acts of injustice which the thick veil of the court and the official world at Rome interposed between the Emperor and the Empire. By this mode of life he baffled the intrigues, which could not follow him everywhere, and at the same time made sure of the fidelity of the legions, visiting them in turn; so that he found it doubly for his advantage to fulfil so faithfully his vocation as emperor.

The chronology of these journeys is difficult to fix,<sup>3</sup> and we have respecting each of them very scanty information, although

<sup>1</sup> . . . *quod timeret ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret* (Spart., *ibid.* 19).

<sup>2</sup> Hadrian himself used to say: *Omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum* (Spart., *ibid.* 20).

<sup>3</sup> M. Julius Dürr (*Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*) has attempted to fix the chronological sequence of these journeys, but admits that many of these dates are conjectural. The following are the conclusions of this painstaking *savant*: 117, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (?), at the beginning of November in the valley of the Danube; 118, in the Danube valley and arrival at Rome at the beginning of August; 119, stay at Rome and in Southern Italy; 120, stay at Rome; 121, departure for Gaul, Rhaetia, and Noricum; 122, in Gaul, Britain, and Spain; 123, in Mauretania, Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria; 124, in Pontus, Bithynia, Mysia, and the Isles; 125, in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece; 126, at Athens, the Peloponnesus, the Isles, and Sicily; 127, stay at Rome; 128, in Africa; 129, return to Rome, journey in Greece, and stay at Athens; 130, stay at Athens, journey in Asia Minor and Syria to Palmyra, Jerusalem, Petra, and in Egypt; 131, stay at Alexandria, return through Syria; 132, in Palestine; 133-138, stay at Rome.

Hadrian spent two thirds of his reign in this way; that is, thirteen or fourteen years out of twenty-one. Before narrating his civil administration as we follow him through the provinces, there collecting the scanty supply of facts special to each country furnished by coins, inscriptions, or histories of his reign,<sup>1</sup> let us go, as he did, first to the frontiers, and see in what manner he proposed to carry out that policy of peace which he had made from the first the rule of his government.

This policy employed means of two kinds, — beyond the frontiers, the system of subsidies, which was largely extended in order to keep the Barbarians in their own homes; on the frontier itself, a powerful system of defence, created by immense works of fortification and the establishment of the severest discipline in the armies.

The plan of bestowing subsidies, which had been inaugurated by Augustus and continued by his successors, but irregularly and according to circumstances, became in Hadrian's case a fixed principle of government, the application of which unfortunately is rather a matter of conjecture than one made clear by numerous facts. We have seen that instead of risking his forces in the heart of Asia, he had withdrawn them to the frontier which Nature herself had marked out behind the great Syrian desert; later he did the same in Britain, "in order," says his biographer, "to retain nothing useless." Then, his frontier being clearly marked out, and all confusion of boundaries which might have produced complications being carefully avoided, he acted upon the regions beyond by means of persuasion, counsels, and presents, to establish friendly relations between the Barbarians and the Empire. He pensioned many Barbarian kings and chiefs; for we read in Spartianus that "he attached to himself all the kings by his gifts,"<sup>2</sup> — a statement which Dion and Aurelius Victor repeat, and Arrian confirms.<sup>3</sup> "To the king of the Iberians," relates the first, "he sent an

<sup>1</sup> We possess the coins of twenty-five provinces visited by Hadrian. As historians, there remain only Spartianus — a writer void of clearness, possessing neither art nor critical skill, and who is to Suetonius what the latter was to Tacitus — and Xiphilinus, the awkward abbreviator of Dion Cassius. But the age of the Antonines is the most brilliant epoch of Roman epigraphy, and the coins of Hadrian are perhaps the finest of the imperial series.

<sup>2</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 16; cf. 12 and 20.

<sup>3</sup> Χρήματα λαμβάνοντες (Dion, lxix. 9); cf. Aur. Victor, or the unknown author of the *Epitome*, xiv.



elephant, a cohort of five hundred armed men, and some rich presents. When he came into the neighborhood of the Barbarians, he invited their chiefs to pay him a visit, and he exchanged presents with them, taking care that his own should be worthy of the hand which gave them." So, when Spartianus tells us that he gave a king to some Germans, we may rest assured that this chief returned to his own people accompanied by councillors able to maintain him in fidelity to the Empire, and with the means of appeasing the warlike turbulence of his people. In the region of the Black Sea Arrian names six kings who held their power from Hadrian.<sup>1</sup>

If we understood better the diplomacy of this Emperor, we should doubtless see him exercising over the peoples established along his frontiers a multifold and continuous action by means of gold, trade, perhaps intrigues; that is to say, endeavoring to bind to the Empire by interests this first line of Barbarism, which was to serve as a bulwark against the more dangerous Barbarism ranged behind it.

This policy, which avoided external difficulties, is that from which the Americans, English, and Russians have in our days, derived so many advantages, without seeing in it any of the disgrace imputed to the conduct of the Roman Emperors.<sup>2</sup> At a later period this means of defence will prove fatal, by provoking the appetites of the Barbarians, whom the Empire is no longer in a condition to restrain; but in the time of Hadrian it was wise and able, because behind this moderation there was force. Dion Cassius is not large-minded; but sharing, as consul, in the most important affairs, he understood the system. "He loaded," says he, "the kings with his bounties; foreigners attempted nothing against him because he never disturbed them, and also because they well knew the strength of his preparations. Many, even, were so far won over that they were willing to accept him as arbitrator in their differences."

The whole external history of the Empire during this reign is comprised in these words. Rome had peace at this time,—not

<sup>1</sup> . . . ἐκ σοῦ βασιλείαν ἔχει (*Perip. Pont. Eux. cap. ii. and passim*).

<sup>2</sup> Hence comes the ridiculous accusation that he bought peace from the Barbarians: *A regibus multis pace occultis muneribus impetrata* (Aur. Victor, *Epist. xiv.*).

the cowardly and careless peace which submits to humiliation or prepares disasters, but that active and resolute peace which has no fear of war, because it has organized great military forces and holds them always ready. During the reign of Trajan the Empire had the aspect of a soldier resting under arms, but grasping his weapons with a firm hand.

We know that the Roman army at this time had no garrisons at all in the interior. Trajan, the greatest general of the imperial epoch, had formulated the principle of a good war administration, — “Do not remove the soldiers from their standards; small garrisons destroy the military spirit.” The whole army was, therefore, kept in quarters in the vicinity of the frontier. It protected the interior of the Empire, but it did not reside there. Behind it lay the civilization which it defended, peacefully pursuing its work under this powerful protection; before it was the Barbaric world, whose threatening waves it steadily held in check. Its life was rough and austere, for its encampments were in torrid or icy solitudes; in the midst of marshes, which it drained; of forests, through which it opened roads; of uncultivated plains, which it made fruitful; and as the Barbarian was close by, watching every opportunity of murder and pillage, it was needful to have hand upon sword as well as upon axe, and eye everywhere.

Yet, in time and with increasing security, indolence had crept into the camps. A crowd of tradesfolk and handicraftsmen had established themselves in the shelter of the rampart to derive profit from the wants and vices of the soldier, the elegance and luxury of the officers. Augustus had reserved for the sons of senators and knights the grades of tribune and prefect. These young men of rank, condemned to pass five years in camp before attaining civil office and honor, carried thither their habits of life, and the *castra stativa* became by degrees cities where all the pleasures of Roman life were to be found.

Hadrian was pitiless towards this effeminacy. He caused to be destroyed, says his biographer, the artificial grottos and the porticos built as shelter against the rain or the heat of the day, the festive halls and pleasure houses where the rude duties of service were forgotten. He expelled the play-actors and buffoons, and all the caterers of an easy life who tend to enervate both the

body and mind of the soldier;<sup>1</sup> and that he might keep before men's minds this return to the austerity of military manners, he caused medals to be struck which show him marching at the head of the soldiers, with these words on the exergue: DISCIPLINA AVG.; as if a new divinity had descended from heaven for the safety of the Empire.

The camp being thus restored to its former strictness, he kept all men in it, refusing leave when not imperatively needed, in order that the legions might be always up to their full number, and the officers and soldiers always in training. Besides, he was of opinion that the soldier is formed in the camp as the workman is in the workshop and the laborer in the field,—each in his appropriate place.

He modified the soldiers' accoutrements and made new regulations regarding baggage. On these two matters we are left to conjectures. But the Emperor who made his soldiers<sup>2</sup> perform three long marches every month, and who himself accompanied their columns, could have had no other concern with the *impedimenta* except to diminish their amount and double the force of the army by increasing the rapidity of its movements. If luxurious quarters displeased him in camp, superfluous baggage must have seemed to him dangerous in the campaign; and the same motives that caused him to forbid the former would have also led him to reduce the latter.

In the matter of arms we are also ignorant of the changes which he made; but we still possess the field order given by his lieutenant, Arrianus, governor of the province of Cappadocia, at a time when an invasion of the Alani was threatened.<sup>4</sup> Its instructions are as minute and precise as would be those of the best modern general; they regulate the composition of the army, its march, the arrangements to be made on the field of battle during the action and after the victory. As in it Arrianus speaks of corps of every kind, it is clear that the Romans had adopted



HADRIAN  
MARCHING,  
FOLLOWED BY  
THREE SOL-  
DIERS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 19).

<sup>2</sup> Vegetius, i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Coin commemorative of the return to military discipline. Gold coin (Cohen, No. 210.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ἑκταξίς κατ' Ἀλανῶν*. The infantry cohorts and the cavalry squadrons bore, like the old French provincial regiments, local names.



the arms of the Barbarians, in order to unite to the modes of action proper to the legions all those of which the enemy made use. We find, besides, in another passage of Arrianus, the Emperor's order to all his generals to study the arms and tactics of the Parthians, Armenians, Sarmatians, and Celts.<sup>1</sup>

This care constantly to better the equipment of the soldiers and the evolutions of the troops was, however, an old and admirable tradition of Roman policy. The wars against the Gauls of Italy



SOLDIER CARRYING HIS BAGGAGE  
(COL. TRAJAN).



SOLDIER WITHOUT BAGGAGE  
(COL. TRAJAN).

had taught them the advantage of bronze helmets and of bucklers edged with steel; to fight the Cimbri they had changed the staff of the javelin, the projectile of the legionaries; from the Spaniards they had taken the short strong sword; from the Greeks, their siege-trains and the art of besieging. A Carthaginian vessel stranded on the shore had been the first model of their war-galleys. In this way this people, who felt themselves the first nation in the world, and who were so, were always learning, and unceasingly improving the science by which they had subdued the world.

<sup>1</sup> Βασιλεὺς δὲ προσεξεύρεν καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ἐκμελετᾶν αὐτοῦς (*Tact.* 44). These two books of Arrianus, though rather short, are full of curious information on the tactics and equipment of the Romans. Respecting the operations, engines, and siege works, see the study of M. de Saulcy, *Les Derniers Jours de Jérusalem*.

No branch of the service escaped Hadrian's surveillance and reforms. He was interested in the field hospitals, which he visited daily when in camp; in the matter of victualling, which never failed; also in the arsenals, the magazines for arms and clothing, which he kept always well stocked. Strict economy in expenditure<sup>1</sup> made it possible for all wants to be met.

"He himself personally," says the historian Dion Cassius, "took account of all things connected with the army,—the engines of war, weapons, moats, intrenchments, palisades,—and of all that concerned the individual soldier, his mode of living, habitation, and morals. He corrected many abuses which had grown up out of indolence, and exercised the whole army, both officers and soldiers in various forms of combat, recompensing some, reprimanding others, and instructing every man in respect to his duty. In fine, by his acts and orders he put discipline and exercises into such a good condition that even now his regulations are in force in the army."<sup>2</sup>

These reforms might possibly excite complaints; he forestalled them by himself submitting to the severest requirements of the military life. When he came into camp it was only the arrival of one more soldier. His dress was very plain, without gold or jewels in his armor, only an ivory handle to his heavy sword; his frugal meals consisted of the legionaries' provisions,—bacon, cheese, cheap wine, and they were always taken in public;<sup>3</sup> his mode of life, that of the working officer. If the army were in motion, a day's march of twenty miles on foot and under arms, in the midst of the cohorts, did not deter him; and it is possible that when he made all his cavalry cross the Danube by swimming, he crossed in the same manner.<sup>4</sup> More severe towards himself than towards the lowest soldier, he went bareheaded under the snows of Caledonia and under the sun of Upper Egypt; and until the latest years of

<sup>1</sup> *Ordinatis impendiis . . . agebat ut semper militum numerus sciretur* (Spart., *Had.* 10). This author adds (11) that Hadrian was very economical in everything which concerned only himself.

<sup>2</sup> *lxi.* 9. Vegetius, who cites these regulations, uses a good part of them for his work *De Re mil.* i. 8. The Emperor Valerian authorized, a hundred and fifty years later, the military regulations of Hadrian. Cf. Vopiscus, *Prob.* 4.

<sup>3</sup> He observed this frugality even in the palace. Never, says Dion, did he drink wine (*lxi.* 7) at the repast called by the Romans *prandium*.

<sup>4</sup> At least Suidas asserts it, and we possess the funeral inscription of the Batavian soldier who was the first to reach the opposite bank (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 3,676.)

his life he practised hurling the javelin and handling arms, and never, in camp or on the march, did he choose to make use of carriage or litter.

Facts like these, which are established past dispute, give a different aspect to the character of the master of Antinous; but serious history has yet many more corrections to make in the traditional narrative.

When soldiers are called upon to sacrifice their lives in quarrels in which they are not at all interested, it is necessary at least to give them an example of the qualities and virtues required of them. Hadrian understood this principle of good sense and fairness. Hence it resulted that, seeing the Emperor attach so great importance to manly exercises, and watch with such attention all the service, there was not a centurion, a tribune, or a legate who felt himself at liberty to neglect any portion of his duty. Thus the Empire came to have an army which was like a robust body with supple and vigorous limbs, capable of enduring all fatigues and braving all dangers, ready at a day's notice to march out of its encampments for an expedition or for battle.

But it was also a docile army. There was no soldier who thought of hesitating about obedience to a chief who demanded of others only what he imposed upon himself, and who to all military virtues united a sense of justice.

Hadrian gave the vine-stock, the badge of the centurion's rank, only to the bravest of the legionaries; he sent away from the camp the beardless officers to whom Augustus had opened it, as well as the soldiers who had been admitted too young, and those who had been retained there until past the military age for the sake of economizing in their pensions. In appointing a tribune he no longer required birth, but age and merit. It was making promotion easy to good soldiers; and as they further saw him visiting the sick in their quarters, watching over their comfort and safety without disdaining the smallest detail, occupying himself with their interests and their future to the degree that he knew every veteran by name,—for this solicitude they in return showed a gratitude<sup>1</sup> which entirely prevented mutiny during this

<sup>1</sup> *A militibus, propter curam exercitus nimiam, multum amatus est* (Spart., *Had.* 21). He gave to the licensed veterans the privilege conceded by Augustus to soldiers under the colors



reign of twenty-one years, in which the army had neither a day of plundering nor a day of victory.

The traveller between Constantine and the oasis of Biskra finds at Lambese, at the foot of Mount Aurasius, a Roman camp, that of the legion *IIIa Augusta*, which still has its stone rampart, the praetorium, or residence of the legate who commanded it, and about a mile from the camp, in the midst of other ruins, a pedestal, on which is engraved an order addressed by Hadrian to the troops. It praises their zeal in executing all the prescribed exercises, even the most difficult; in accomplishing, in one day, labors in which others would have employed a week; in carrying enormous burdens; in fighting sham battles, which are an image of real war, and a preparation for it, etc.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription, mutilated as it is, says enough to show that Hadrian had not forgotten even a handful of men far away on the edge of the great desert; and from this we conclude that his vigilance extended to every point of the immense circle traced round the Empire by the military posts of the legions.

There remains another contemporary document, a fragment of the *Poliorcetica* of Apollodorus. Hadrian, who knew how to utilize all forms of talent, had asked this great architect to draw up a treatise on military machines. Apollodorus did better. In a short time he wrote the treatise and besides designed the machines and had them made; then he sent the designs and their explanation to the Emperor, along with a number of workmen whom he had trained.<sup>2</sup> It was what we should call a new kind

of disposing of their savings even when they were still *in potestate parentum* (*Inst.* ii. 12, *prooem*).

<sup>1</sup> See L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, p. 3, and Wilmanns, *Mémoire on Lambessa in the Com-mentationes philol.* 1877. The legion *IIIa Augusta*, aided by its auxiliaries, had constructed a military road from Lambese to Carthage (Orelli, No. 3,564, *anno* 123), posts in all the passes of Mount Aures, and a foot-road along its whole length; it was by these immense works of public and military utility, as much as by the number and variety of their exercises, that the Romans beguiled the weariness of camp life.

<sup>2</sup> *Misi quoque fabros indigenas et reliquos artifices ac operarios* (*Poliorcetica*, Greek and Latin text, with figures, in the magnificent first printed edition of 1693, *in prooemio*). The greatest range of the ancient machines was four hundred and eighty-one yards, according to M. de Rochas, *Balistique de l'antiquité*, in the *Annuaire de la Société pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, 1877, p. 273. M. de Rochas recalls the fact that Archimedes shot stones of five hundred and fifty pounds weight, and that at Carthage, when Scipio took the place, he found there a hundred and twenty oxybeles (catapults to throw darts) of large calibre and two hundred and eighty-one of small; twenty-three large lithoboli (catapults to throw stones) and

of siege and field artillery, since Apollodorus seems to have set little value on that previously in use. "The old kinds," he says, "were of no use to me." The new engines he made light, though strong, and very easy to move (*leves et veloces*); "for," he adds, "when I was with you in the armies, I learnt how much mobility, both in men and machines, the necessities of war require." All these are still, under other forms, truths of to-day.

But to what purpose were all these preparations and expenses? Why so much care in putting in order an instrument which was not at all used? Hadrian made ready for war in order to have peace. With an army so well-drilled and so docile, consequently always ready to strike a formidable blow, he was able, without peril, to inaugurate a peaceful policy. No one, within or without, considered this resolution as an avowal of weakness, nor did any subject dare attempt sedition, or any king or people once attack the well-guarded frontier.

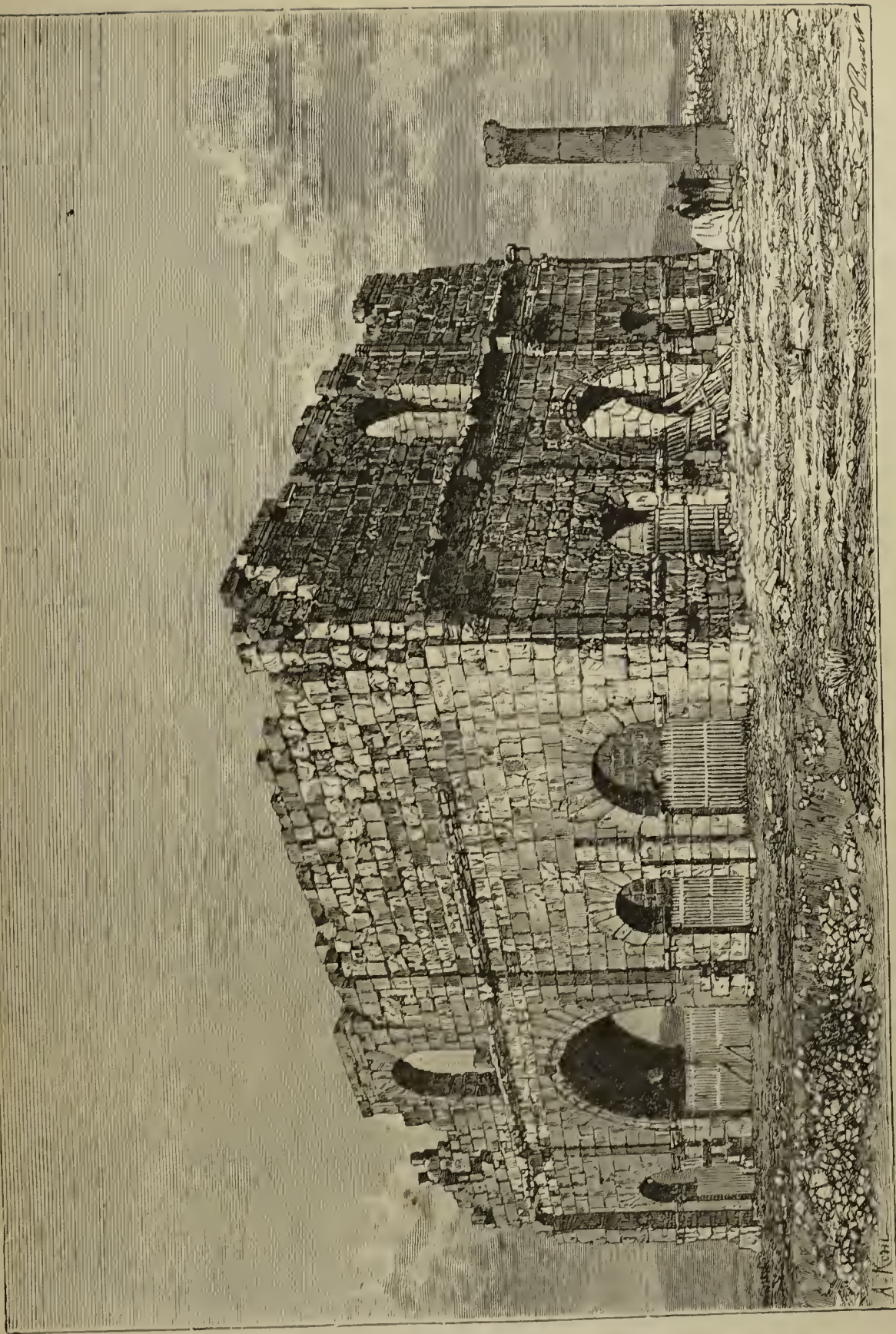
But let us look at the frontier itself: the spectacle there is as noteworthy as in the camps.

That portion of it which first occupied Hadrian's attention was the line of the Danube. He had scarcely reached Rome from the East when he was recalled into Moesia by an invasion of the Roxolani. The king of this people was exasperated because the pension which Trajan had been accustomed to pay him had been reduced;<sup>1</sup> and swarms of Barbarian cavalry, the ancestors of the Cossacks of our time, had made an attack upon Eastern Dacia, while the Sarmatian Iazyges, who were of the same race, were invading the province on the west. These tribes, from their contact with Rome, acquired something of the diplomatic skill belonging to well-settled governments. Under Trajan the Decebalus extended his intrigues on all sides and sent emissaries as far as the Parthians. When the legions were posted in this province of Dacia, which by its mountainous conformation was like a great fortress, cutting in two a part of

fifty-two small: in all four hundred and seventy-six pieces of artillery, without counting twenty-five hundred missile weapons called scorpions, analogous in their use to our guns for forts. A petrobolus of thirty minae (twenty-six pounds) corresponded in effect to our old twelve-pounders.

<sup>1</sup> *Rex Roxolanorum qui de imminutis stipendiis querebatur* (Spart., *Hadl.* 6). We have seen (p. 315, note 3) that M. Julius Dürr supposes the stay of Hadrian in Moesia to have preceded his arrival at Rome, which it seems to me hard to admit.





THE PRAETORIUM AT LAMBESE





the Barbaric world, the Sarmatae of the Theiss continued to act in concert behind the Carpathians with those of the Dnieper;<sup>1</sup> and they attached so much importance to preserving these relations that we see them under Marcus Aurelius consenting not to have a boat on the Danube on condition of being allowed to traffic with one another across Dacia. Under this commercial intercourse they hid political relations which rendered possible those coalitions whereby the Empire was so often assailed and was finally destroyed.



HADRIAN HARANGUING  
THE LEGIONS OF  
MOESIA.<sup>2</sup>

The invasion which Hadrian had at this time to encounter seems not to have been formidable. However, he hastened to the legions of Moesia, and was already making great preparations when the news reached him of the conspiracy of Palma and Quietus. In these circumstances his presence was needed at Rome; instead of fighting, therefore, he restored the former subsidy, made a friend of the king of the Roxolani, who seems to have assumed his name,<sup>3</sup> and sent him back as quickly as possible with his people to their encampments on the rivers Bug and Dnieper. To complete the description of this frontier, we shall show what was from this time its defensive organization, which Hadrian doubtless labored to perfect during the whole of his reign.

The territory lying north of the mouths of the Danube, between the Sereth and the Dniester (Bessarabia), through which the Roxolani had just passed and would thereafter pass in all later invasions, made part, under the rule of a procurator, of the government of Lower Moesia. It was an important possession, although the Empire had risked no colonies there, because the troops encamped in the Dobrutscha could reach it quickly, and close the wide passage which, on that side, stretches from the Carpathians to the sea. Therefore one legion, the Fifth Macedonian, had been placed at Troesmis (Iglitza),<sup>4</sup> not far from the head of

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the consanguinity of these peoples, Schafarik, *Slav. Alterth.* i. 333-373.

<sup>2</sup> Large bronze, Cohen, No. 799.

<sup>3</sup> At least there is an inscription, thus read: *P. Aelio. Rasparasano regi Roxolanorum* (*C. I. L.* v. 32; cf. 33), which proves that this name of Aelius, which was that of Hadrian, had been taken and used in this royal family.

<sup>4</sup> We give on next page the restoration of Troesmis by M. Ambr. Baudry. We are





A VIEW IN THE CARPATHIANS.

the Danubian delta and from the locality where are now the large towns of Braïla and Galatz. Among the numerous inscriptions which have been found there, one, of the time of Hadrian,

indebted for the communication to M. Engelhardt, formerly consul-general of France at Belgrade, who has carefully studied the ruins of this fortress. See L. Renier, *Inscr. de Troesmis*.



shows the future city as a village (*vicus*), formed by the booths of the sutlers. The camp had been skilfully placed on this promontory a hundred feet high, commanding for many miles the river Danube, studded with numerous islands, which facilitated both the passage and its defence. At the least rumor of invasion the legion hastened across the river, behind the Sereth, and barred the route against invaders or, by a threat of cutting off their retreat, forced them to a precipitate flight. Moreover, the Romans had long since given themselves, at the extremity of this region, a point of support in the city of Tyras, an ancient rich colony of Miletus, founded at the mouths of the Dniester, in the vicinity of the present town of Akkerman.<sup>1</sup> They had also another in the Crimea (Chersonesus Taurica), at Kertch (Panticapaeum), where reigned a king of the Sarmatians who called himself a great friend of the Empire and of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> Another Milesian colony, Olbia (Otchakof), at the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), one of the largest marts of those regions, further served them as a vigilant sentinel. Finally, the Black Sea fleet connected these points with the maritime places of Moesia, Tomi (Kustendje), and Odessus (Varna); so that of the vast semicircle described by the coast from Odessus to Olbia, one half was well defended, the other half well watched.

Thus the lower valley of the Danube, protected on the north by the Carpathians, was covered on the east by advanced posts, and then from the Romans restrained that Barbaric world which stretched, like an open sea, over the immense extent of the Sarmatian plains. To whom belongs the honor of this defensive organization? Doubtless to that able governor of Moesia, Plautius Aelianus, of whom we have already spoken. It is probable that Tyras had claimed the protection of the Empire at the time when Plautius executed, between the Sereth and the Dniester, the immense raid which gave him a hundred thousand captives, whom

<sup>1</sup> Orelli-Henzen, No. 6,429. This inscription, which refers to a letter of Septimius Severus, confirming some privileges formerly granted to Tyras, shows the persistency of the Emperors in protecting these Greek cities on the north coast of the Euxine, by means of which they watched and kept in check the Barbarians of the interior.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 783. He reigned from 92 to 124. The Romans had detached Heraclea, one of the principal towns of Taurica Chersonesus, from the kingdom of the Bosphorus and had declared it free.

he made laborers in his province.<sup>1</sup> But at one time or another, either during his stay in the year 118 on the banks of the Danube, or



HADRIAN AND MOESIA.<sup>3</sup>

on a later journey, Hadrian certainly exercised personal supervision over this country, where he had served as legionary tribune as early as the reign of Domitian,<sup>2</sup> and where appeared the first peril that had shown itself since his accession. Certain medals celebrate his arrival in Moesia; others show him haranguing the troops of this province; and the inhabitants of Tomi caused an inscription to be engraved in his honor, the most ancient in the Latin language which has been found in the ruins of that city.<sup>4</sup> Finally, a rescript of Septimius Severus, addressed to the inhabitants of Tyras, recalls and confirms the privileges which a legate of Hadrian had acknowledged as theirs.<sup>5</sup>

Was it this Emperor who erected along the Lower Danube and on the south branch of its delta so many posts, which were for a long time the bulwark of the Turkish Empire, after having been that of the Roman?<sup>6</sup> We cannot say; but when we shall have presently seen all that he did on the Middle-Danube and in Britain, we shall feel justified in believing that he neglected nothing which could secure one of the most vulnerable of his frontiers.

These details, apparently unconnected with general history, enable us to comprehend by what skilful precautions the Empire was put in a state to resist the pressure of the world of Barbarism for two centuries; that is to say, so long as Rome had as

<sup>1</sup> The era of Tyras is made to begin in 56; but it is not certain that the solitary letters marked on its coins, as on the greater part of those of Moesia and Thrace, are, as has been believed, chronological marks.

<sup>2</sup> In 96, in the Fifth Macedonian (Spart., *Had.* 2, and *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 550).

<sup>3</sup> Coin commemorative of Hadrian's arrival in Moesia: ADVENTVI AVG. MOESIAE (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 622).

<sup>4</sup> *Senatus populusque Tomitanorum*. This inscription is of the year 129 (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 765). See the *Addit.* p. 997. The coins brought from Tomi by the *Mission du Danube* belong for the most part, for the later Empire, to the epoch of the Antonines (*Mém. de la Soc. des Antig.* 3d series, v. 227).

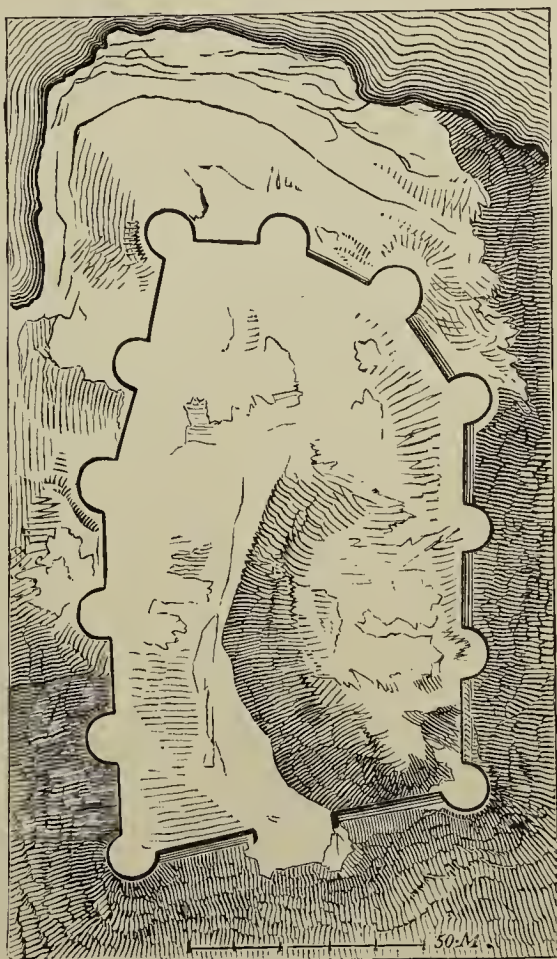
<sup>5</sup> *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 781. The governor of Moesia mentioned in this inscription bears at least the name of the ordinary consuls of the year 133.

<sup>6</sup> Prista (the present fortress of Rutchuk), Durostorum, which has become Silistria, Cius (Hirsova), Troesmis (Iglitza), Arrubium (Matchin), Dinogetia, Noviodunum (Isakteha), Aegysus (Tultcha), etc.

rulers — those two madmen, Caligula and Nero, excepted — Emperors often cruel at Rome, but always watchful over the frontiers. They also show what value it is right to set on the tradition which attributes to Hadrian the destruction of Trajan's bridge "from jealousy of his predecessor's glory," and even the intention to abandon Dacia, — a project from which his friends, it is said, succeeded in turning him.<sup>1</sup> He did not preserve the conquests beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, because in those countries not one Roman citizen had settled; but he favored the emigration of Latin colonists into Dacia, and the proof of this is that they are still there.

Those whom Trajan, in the course of some years, had induced to settle there, were certainly not in sufficient number to secure to their descendants the possession of such an extensive territory.

But as the measures taken for the military protection of the valley of the Danube afforded perfect security to that region, the current of colonization continued to flow thither. Consequently, inscriptions are found there in honor of Hadrian,<sup>3</sup> works executed in his name,<sup>4</sup> and coins on which the new province, now one of the bulwarks of the Empire, is represented by the warlike symbol of

DANUBIAN FORTRESS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Trajani gloriae invidens . . . amici deterruerunt* (Eutropius, viii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> The fortress of Dinogetia, the ruins of which were discovered in 1865 by M. Engelhardt, consul-general of France at Belgrade, on an isolated plateau near the river, has an area of nearly two acres. The distance of  $88\frac{1}{2}$  feet, which separates each of its twelve towers, is exactly the same that M. Engelhardt had measured between the towers of the front of the intrenched camp of Troesmis. The plan above given was drawn by M. Baudry.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. L.* Nos. 953, 1,371, 1,445, 1,447.

<sup>4</sup> His legate had constructed, in the year 133, an aqueduct to Sarmizegetusa (*Ibid.* No. 1,446).



a woman, seated on a rock, holding in one hand the curved sword of the Dacians, in the other a standard.<sup>1</sup>



A DACIAN.<sup>3</sup>

As regards Trajan's bridge, it was now so far from the Barbarians and so easy to defend that it must have been rendered unfit for use only at the time when the Roman troops could no longer maintain themselves in Dacia; and this necessity occurred only a century and a half after Hadrian, when Aurelian, between 270 and 275, recalled to the right bank of the Danube the rest of the Roman troops and the colonists who wished to follow them.<sup>2</sup> Twenty years before this, Decius had won the surname of *Daciarum restitutor*.

The most exposed frontier, and at the same time the one nearest to Italy,

was that of the middle Danube, all along Pannonia, which the river bounded on the north and east, from its confluence with the Gran as far as the Save. Beyond this line was crowded a mass of German and Slav nations, often conquered, never subdued, who at one bound could reach the Alps and force the gates of Italy. Hadrian was aware of this danger; and indeed it had been well understood at Rome since the severe campaign of Tiberius in



DACIA.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We possess such coins of the time of Hadrian, and even under Gallienus (Greppo, p. 102). Instead of being a curved sword, Cohen thinks it to be a reaping-hook.

<sup>2</sup> This opinion is derived, among moderns, from a passage of lib. lxxviii. cap. 13, of Dion, where it is said that Hadrian caused the upper part of the bridge to be taken away. But this book is not the historian's own text; and Xiphilinus, after having cited the very exact description given by his author, has quite naturally added that for a long time the bridge had not been used. He says, it is true, that Hadrian had caused the flooring to be taken away. If it were proved that this was Dion's own statement, there would be no reply to it, because Dion was almost a contemporary. But the assertion, having against it all historical probability, must be attributed to the abbreviator, a writer of the eleventh century, who seems to have picked up one of those retrospective calumnies of which Hadrian was made the victim for reasons to be explained later,—calumnies from which, indeed, he was not spared while living, as regards the abandonment of Trajan's conquests. We have already seen the very legitimate causes of this latter resolution.

<sup>3</sup> Bust of a Dacian found near Trajan's Forum (Vatican, *Braccio nuovo*, No. 118).

<sup>4</sup> Large bronze, Cohen, 770.

that region. He himself had been in command there before his praetorship, and as early as that time had had trouble with the Sarmatians. He at first proposed to grasp these Barbarians, as in a vice, between the two provinces of Pannonia and Dacia,



BUST OF HADRIAN FOUND AT ANTIVM.<sup>1</sup>

united into a great military government; and he gave this command, with full powers, to his ablest general, Marcius Turbo, who had very recently crushed a Jewish insurrection in Egypt and then pacified in Mauretania the disturbances excited by Quietus.

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Capitol.



Later, however, with the idea that he could make a better defence by separating these too extensive commands, he formed two Dacias, as there were two Moesias, and placed strong garrisons along the frontiers. When Trajan had formed the province of Lower Pannonia, he had assigned one legion to it,<sup>1</sup> which fixed its headquarters in front and close to the enemy at Aquincum, on the mountain of Buda, and at Mursa, on the Drave not far from its confluence with the Danube. There, as at Troesmis, as everywhere where a Roman detachment was fixed, traders had followed the soldiers, the veterans were settled near their old comrades, and with their huts had originated two towns, which Hadrian made into two important places: Mursa recognized him as its founder and bore his name;<sup>2</sup> Aquincum owed to him without doubt its rank as a colony. The sites were so well chosen that one is now the capital of Esclavonia (Eszeg), and the other that of Hungary (Ofen, or Buda).

The line of the middle Danube was thus in course of being well guarded. Higher up, three legions had been posted along the river, at Brigetio (O-Szony, near Comorn),<sup>3</sup> at Carnuntum (Petronel), which took the name of Municipium Aelium,<sup>4</sup> and at Vindobona (Vienna), where the flotilla of the Danube was stationed.

Covered on the right and left by the great armies of Pannonia and Upper Germany,<sup>5</sup> besides having the Alps in the rear and being naturally protected by their own mountains, Noricum and Rhaetia did not seem to require many military precautions. We find as late as Marcus Aurelius only procurators as their governors, and for their defence only isolated detachments, cohorts,

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Ila Adjutrix*.

<sup>2</sup> *Divo Hadriano Mursenses conditori suo* (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 3,279). The city seems to have been partly built by the legion Second Adjutrix. An inscription at Aquincum is devoted to the memory of a *Canabensis*, or tavern-keeper of that city, some trader come thither from Cologne (*Mus. de Pesth*, by E. Desjardins, No. 180).

<sup>3</sup> The most ancient inscription found at Brigetio (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 4,356) bears the name of a legate who had been consul under Hadrian in 134. The town had been at first only a village of sutlers and veterans. Thus the inscription No. 4,298 is dedicated by a veteran of the legion First Adjutrix who had become *decurio* of Brigetio.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen believes, but without giving any proofs, that it is indebted rather to Antoninus for this name (*C. I. L.* iii. 550). Trajan seems to have been especially preoccupied in Pannonia with his important colony of Paetovio, where the chief administration of the province was carried on (*Ibid.* p. 510).

<sup>5</sup> There were three legions in Upper Pannonia, and as many more in Upper Germany.



or squadrons. Hadrian, however, visited them. Historians do not speak of his travels in that region, but coins have preserved the remembrance of them; and very early was ascribed to him the foundation of Juvavium (Salzburg),<sup>1</sup> in the midst of a magnificent country, at a point where the new city barred the route to Italy against every incursion coming from Bohemia by the valley of the Inn.

We have seen, in considering the subject of the *Agri Decumates*,<sup>2</sup> what was the Roman system of defence for arresting in this direction the incursions of the Barbarians. Hadrian continued it while improving it. When Spartianus speaks of the journey of this Emperor in the German provinces, he is satisfied with writing: "In many places where no river existed to serve as

a barrier against the Barbarians, he formed a sort of wall of large piles driven into the ground and strongly united." These words imply a good deal concerning the Emperor's wish to fortify his Empire, but very little as to the means he employed.



HADRIAN HARANGUING  
THE ARMY OF RHAETIA.<sup>4</sup>



ARRIVAL OF HADRIAN  
IN BRITAIN.<sup>3</sup>



HADRIAN HARANGUING  
THE ARMY OF NORICUM.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately we can understand very clearly what they were by the study of a line of fortifications still quite recognizable by the mounds of earth and the remains of walls still existing, or by excavations which show the site of constructions which have disappeared. The Picts' Wall in Britain teaches us what was the Devil's Wall in Germany;<sup>6</sup> and by seeing the so-called

<sup>1</sup> It was the opinion of Pighius, but was doubted by Orelli (No. 496), and has been opposed by Mommsen (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 5,536).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 190.

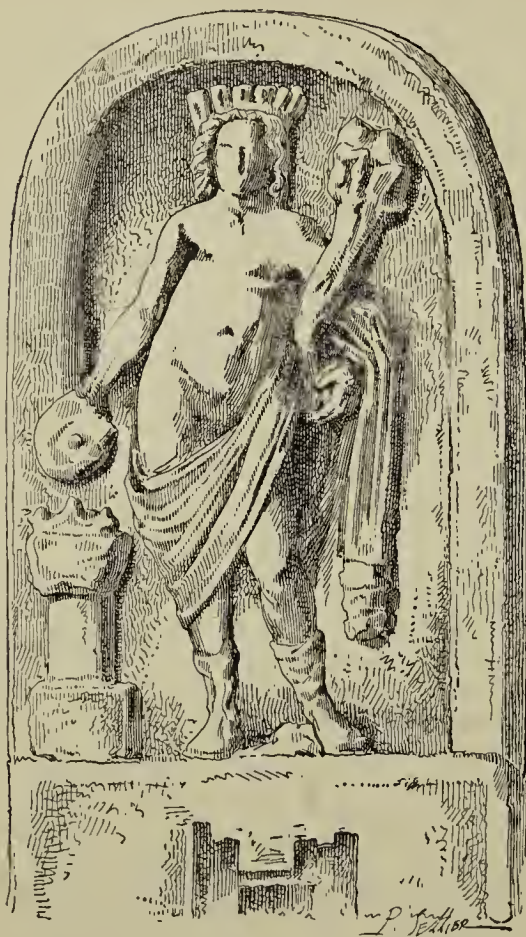
<sup>3</sup> C. Bruce, *The Rom. Wall*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> EXERCITVS RAETICVS. Large bronze. Cohen, No. 803.

<sup>5</sup> EXERCITVS NORICVS. Large bronze. Cohen, No. 800.

<sup>6</sup> The *Teufelmauer*, which extended two hundred miles, reproduced the principal arrangements of the *Vallum Hadriani*. It was a rampart of earth, doubtless palisaded and fronted by a broad moat, a stone wall with watch-towers, and in the rear a military road, near which were the intrenched camps. The work incorrectly named "Trajan's moat" in the Dobrutscha is formed of three ditches, each running along an earthen embankment: the most southerly

Trajan's moat in the Dobrutscha, a work of the fourth century, with its triple *agger* running across an immense plain, we are able to reproduce the system employed by Hadrian in Britain, and we are justified in asserting that all the vulnerable frontiers were covered by similar defences, since such was the tradition of Roman policy.



THE TUTELAR GENIUS OF THE CAMP.<sup>2</sup>

It was under the eyes of the Emperor himself that the works of the *Vallum Hadriani* were begun. He had chosen as its site an isthmus about sixty-eight miles broad, which the Tyne and the Irthing, descending from a chain of heights having a steep slope towards the north, cross in opposite directions, flowing into two gulfs,<sup>1</sup> where the ocean tides drive back the waters

far up stream. This isthmus seemed to him an excellent defen-

*vallum*, or "the little moat," has its parapet to the north and its ditch to the south, to prevent an attack coming from that direction; the northern *vallum*, or "stone moat," whose defences look northwards; and lastly "the great fosse," which partly runs by the side of the second to double its strength, and intersects it at several points. This last *vallum* is formed of an earthen embankment lying between two broad deep ditches of unequal extent, the northern one being the greater; the crest of the parapet commands its depth of 29½ feet. The stone moat was defended by a wall which was probably not completed, the *débris* of which have given its name to this *vallum*; some layers visible near Kustendje are 6½ feet broad. The engineer Michel, from whom I borrow these details, adds: "We are inclined to believe that the three fosses called after Trajan were intended to form a complete unique system of defence; that they were all projected together; . . . and that the space comprised between 'the small moat' and the two others formed, as it were, a sort of vast intrenched camp, within which troops could defend themselves against incursions from the north and also against a surprise coming from the rear." The great moat was bordered by intrenched camps whose inclosures are still to be seen; on the heights, or half way, were circular camps protected by stone parapets. See *Les Travaux de Défense des Romains dans la Dobroutcha*, by M. Michel, *Soc. des Ant. de France*, IIIe série, v. 215. These works are attributed to Count Trajan in 376, according to Amm. Marcell., XXXI. viii.

<sup>1</sup> That of Solway Frith on the west, and the estuary of the Tyne on the east.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief found in the ruins of the *Vallum Hadriani* (C. Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 358). On the Genius of the camp, see Vol. IV. p. 179, note 2.



sive position. The works which he caused to be executed there<sup>1</sup> from one sea to the other were of three kinds.

The first obstacle which was opposed to an attacking force was a ditch of an average breadth of thirty-six English feet and a depth of fifteen, at certain points dug in the hardest rocks, sandstone-grit, limestone, or basalt, which it never avoided, following continuously the second line of defence, whose approaches it covered. Sometimes, however, it disappeared on the side of steep hills, where it was no longer necessary, while on level ground and in threatened positions it was further protected by a glacis or parapet, formed out of the materials furnished by the excavation, the crest of which at certain points was raised twenty feet above the bottom of the ditch. The earth and turf of which the parapet was made were at regular intervals strengthened by stone work.

Behind this first obstacle arose a wall of masonry, the foundations or the ruins of which are still to be seen, six to nine feet thick, and fifteen, eighteen, or twenty feet high, commanded by watch-towers, four to the mile (nearly three hundred in all), which were from eight to ten feet square on the inside, with walls three feet thick. On the south face of the stone rampart were constructed, a mile apart, eighty *castella* or guard-posts, sixty feet square, with a door opening southwards for the ordinary use of the garrison, and sometimes one opening to the north in the wall itself for sorties and the defence of the ditch. Such was the excellence of the mortar employed that time has made no inroads upon these fortifications; and at this hour all would be still standing if the hand of man had not overthrown them.

As a further precaution, and in order to check enemies from the interior, or bands of men who had successfully stormed the first defences, another moat, between two embankments of earth of unequal height, protected the entire fortification on the south, so that the garrisons of the towers and redoubts, assailed in front and rear, might present a double front.

<sup>1</sup> "Through rocks of sandstone, limestone, and basalt" (Collingwood Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, p. 55, 3d ed. 1867; a very fine work, whose publication has been aided by the Duke of Northumberland with the usual liberality of the English nobility). At the descent from the heights of Carvoran to Thirlwall the fosse is 40 feet wide at the surface, 14 at the bottom, and 10 deep.



Between the north wall and the southern epaulement ran a military road, near which were established, in the most favorable positions and always adjacent to a water supply, seventeen intrenched camps, *castra stativa*, which could furnish mutual support, since they were distant from one another on the average only  $3\frac{3}{4}$  miles. They were surrounded by a stone wall five feet thick, and were contiguous to the great wall, which usually fell in with the northern wall of the stations. The southern rampart was lined by a road, so that all the movements of troops took place under cover. Lastly, a military road coming from the south, — that is to say, from the point where the legions landed, — was constructed

SECTION OF THE VALLUM HADRIANI.<sup>1</sup>

or repaired by Hadrian; near Leicester a milestone has been found bearing his name.

These two fosses with the adjacent ramparts, this wall defended by three hundred towers and eighty redoubts, these seventeen *castra stativa* containing usually an area of three to six acres (although some are much larger), and placed in easy communication with each other by a paved road, — all this formed an immense fortress covering the entire isthmus, a fortress such as no other nation ever constructed. Hence, in looking on this colossal work carried out on the frontier least seriously menaced, we are obliged to acknowledge that there still existed a marvelous energy in these Romans of the Empire, who were able to impose such labors upon themselves in order to protect the remotest of their subjects from the slightest anxiety.

Three legions,<sup>2</sup> assisted by a certain number of auxiliary cohorts, and without doubt also by many of the people of the country, seem to have rapidly executed this work, which, according to the calculations of an English writer, required nearly three million days' work (2,865,671); so that in reckoning twenty-five thousand

<sup>1</sup> A sad interest attaches to this drawing, which was made by the late Prince Imperial of France.

<sup>2</sup> There have been found along the wall many inscriptions bearing the names of the legions *Ila Augusta*, *VIa Victrix*, *XXa Valeria Victrix*.

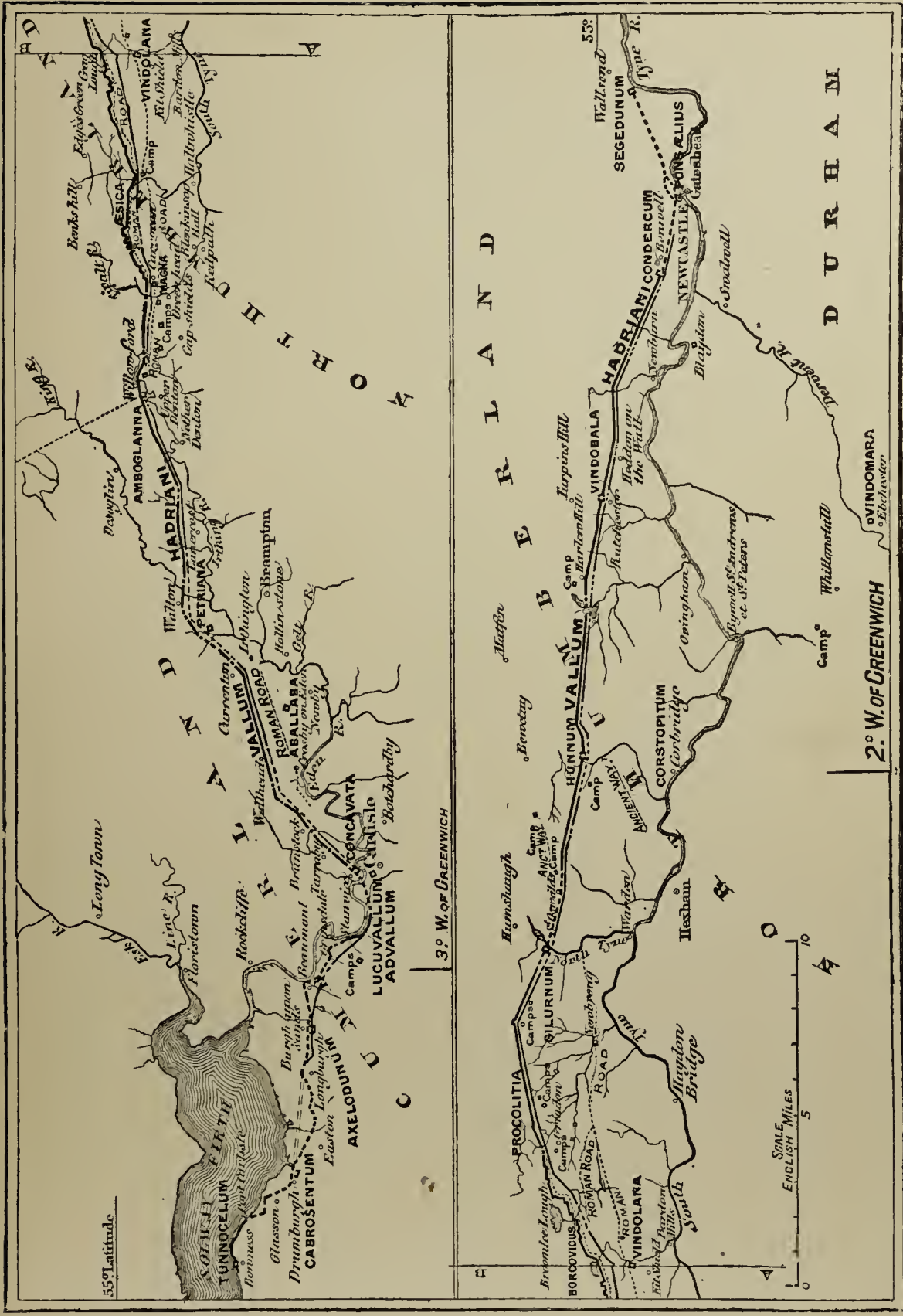


CHART (FROM BRUCE) OF THE VALLUM HADRIANI.





workmen, or about four hundred men to the mile, it would have been completed in four months.<sup>1</sup> The whole distance from one sea to the other had been divided among the cohorts, each cohort digging the moats and building the parapets and wall on the portion of ground which had been assigned it, so that there was



RINGS AND ENGRAVED STONES FOUND IN THE RUINS OF HADRIAN'S WALL.<sup>2</sup>

as much emulation among the laborers as is seen on a day of battle between combatants.<sup>3</sup> Among these laborers were to be found even Dacians, who, under the name of the Aelian cohort, which Hadrian had given them, had come from their distant land to aid the Romans in consolidating a domination to which they

<sup>1</sup> Collingwood Bruce, p. 95. He reckons only ten thousand workmen, and thinks that at two hundred working days per annum, it would have taken two years to finish it.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, pp. 136, 200, and 428.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce (p. 49) also explains the differences of construction, the wall being in certain places  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, in others more than 10. To get on faster, some centurions made their part of the wall slighter. On the south face of the wall marks are still seen which are supposed to indicate the different sections.

themselves had just submitted.<sup>1</sup> A strong castle, Pons Aelius (Newcastle), was built at the eastern extremity of the rampart, and a flotilla with a cohort of marines stationed there.



STONE COMMEMORATIVE OF THE LEGION IIA AUGUSTA, FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE VALLUM.<sup>2</sup>

But did this work belong entirely to Trajan's successor? Did not Agricola before him, and later, Septimius Severus, Theodosius, and even Stilicho, have a share in building the wall and the south *vallum*? First of all, these defences, all whose parts afford mutual protection, reveal a single author, since they all belong to a single plan;<sup>3</sup> next, no inscription found in this region is anterior to Hadrian, while several discovered in the redoubts which form

<sup>1</sup> A quantity of inscriptions have been found relative to the *cohors Aelia Dacicorum* near the *vallum*. On the mixed assemblage of men of all countries of which a Roman army was then made up, see *C. I. L.* vol. vii. No. 1,195, the military diploma extracted from the decree by which Hadrian granted, in 124, the privileges of the *honesta missio* to the veterans of six *alae* and twenty-one *cohortes*.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> The scholar who has most carefully studied the *vallum*, Mr. Bruce, thinks that Severus simply repaired these works. It is worth noting that two writers contemporary with Septimius Severus and the two principal historians of that age, Herodianus and Dion Cassius, who were contemporaries, do not say a word of any wall that he erected in Britain; it is a century later that Spartianus attributes it to him.



part of the wall<sup>1</sup> and in the *castra stativa*<sup>2</sup> bear his name. The coins lead to a similar conclusion. In a bronze vase brought to light in 1837 were found three gold pieces and sixty denarii, of which several bear Hadrian's effigy and not one is posterior to him. Lastly, an inscription, unfortunately much injured, seems



SILVER PLATE FOUND IN THE RUINS OF THE VALLUM HADRIANI.<sup>3</sup>

to be the fragment of a letter addressed by him to troops posted between the two seas, to congratulate them on having without a murmur yielded to the necessity which prevented them from carrying to the end of the world the boundaries of the Empire, and on having protected the frontiers which the Republic had acquired.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vol. vii. Nos. 660–663, and 835.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.* Nos. 362, 730, 748.

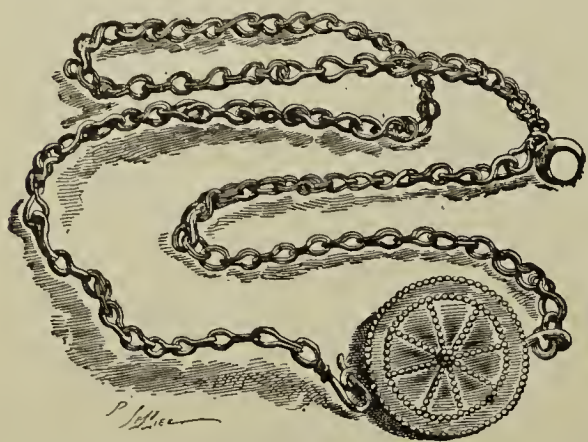
<sup>3</sup> The goddesses represented are, from left to right, Diana, Minerva, Juno, Vesta. Apollo, at whose feet is the lyre, is standing upright before a portico (Duke of Northumberland's Collection. — C. Bruce, p. 341).

<sup>4</sup> This is at any rate the meaning given to these fragments by Hübner (*C. I. L.* vol. vii. No. 498).



It is of course obvious that we cannot attach a date to the antiquities, chains of gold, rings, engraved stones, stone bullets, and *débris* of every sort found in the *vallum*. The legions carried with them into the most savage countries Roman life with its luxuries and needs. Of these one of the most imperious was that of possessing baths of all temperatures,—hot in the *caldarium*,

tepid in the *tepidarium*, cold in the *frigidarium*, and hot air in the arched chambers of the hypocaust.



GOLD CHAIN FOUND IN THE VALLUM, NEAR NEWCASTLE.<sup>1</sup>

These great fortifications were built only in the European provinces threatened by the most dangerous enemies, and during half a century the Caledonians, Germans, Sarmatians, “struck,” to use the words of Dion, “with a re-

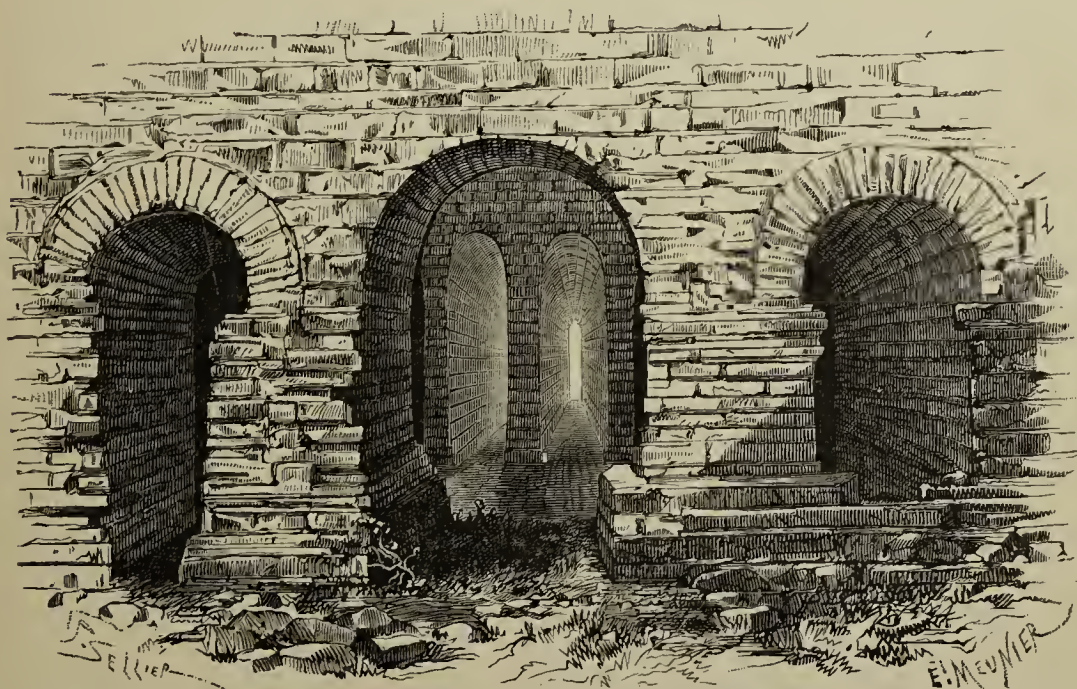
spectful fear,” did not dare to pass them. In Africa the Atlas and the Sahara protected the Roman towns, at that time, as now, needful to the nomadic tribes for their subsistence, but never desired by them as a place of residence, and consequently never threatened by them. Nevertheless, as the people of these provinces and the mountaineers of Kabylia had inveterate habits of brigandage, the Empire established on its high-roads and at the head of the valleys where colonization was developed, a multitude of military posts which astonish our officers by their number and the judicious selection of their positions.<sup>2</sup>

In Syria another desert rendered fortresses unnecessary; and

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Dureau de la Malle (*Prov. de Constantine*, p. 32) points out on the route from Bona to Constantine traces of two kinds of military posts,—1st, small posts for twenty men, arranged about three fifths of a mile apart, with a parapet of three or four feet high in hard hewn stone; 2d, more important posts, a sort of intrenched camp nearly ten miles distant from one another, and furnishing the garrisons of the intermediate posts. De Vigneral, captain on the staff (*Ruines romaines d'Algérie*, 1re partie, p. 80), who considers these statements too positive, asserts, after an attentive study, on the other hand, that the Romans, for the protection of the valleys, which stretch along the foot of the Djurjura, surrounded these mountains with a belt of posts at a height of about a thousand feet on the mountain side; in the circle of Guelma alone he has indicated the position of a vast number of military ruins, mostly of the Byzantine period, but concealing more ancient remains.

in Asia Minor a good army under able chiefs, a people sedentary and pacific, and, lastly, a careful preservation of peace with the local princes, gave full security to the Empire. But to the Barbaric tribes established along its coast, the Euxine offered access into the Roman provinces. To prevent the attacks of pirates, a fleet kept watch over this sea, and fortresses placed in *échelon* on the south coasts from Trebizond to Dioscurias or Sebastopol, in Colchis, kept in check the population along the shores.



REMAINS OF A HYPOCAUST, OR STEAMING-ROOM, IN ONE OF THE CAMPS OF THE VALLUM.<sup>1</sup>

Hadrian's confidential officer in this region was one of his most worthy lieutenants, Arrianus of Nicomedia, who has left some important works, and among others a circumnavigation of the Euxine. Hadrian had asked for this survey of the Black Sea shores. The general made it himself, notwithstanding the labor entailed; and the *Periplus* is his own report, the exact date of which, however, cannot be determined. In it he describes the lines of the coast, the harbors, the rivers navigable and unnavigable, even the degree of saltiness of the water and the direction of the prevalent winds. He enumerates the towns, the neighboring peoples, the tribes of pillagers whom he promised to extermi-

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *ibid.* p. 352.



nate, the kings who held their crowns<sup>1</sup> from Hadrian and whom he confirmed in their allegiance. At the mouth of a river he is shown the anchor of the ship "Argo," but remains incredulous; and he seems no more ready to believe the myth of Prometheus when a peak of the Caucasus, seen in the distance, is pointed out to him as the spot where the Titan was chained. But if the past interests him but little, the present occupies him much. When he comes to a fort, he orders its garrison<sup>2</sup> to manœuvre before him; he examines everything attentively; and on all these matters sends in a report, which this Greek writes in Latin because the correspondence is official. "At Apsaron," he says, "where five cohorts are encamped, I inspected their weapons, the rampart, the ditches, the hospitals and magazines." At the mouths of the Phasos was another fort, guarded by picked troops, protected by a double moat and by a wall furnished with engines of all kinds for throwing darts or stones; these defences he further strengthened. A Roman troop was in garrison at Sebastopol,<sup>3</sup> the extremity of the Graeco-Roman world, at the foot of the Caucasus; remote as it was, this town had received favors from Hadrian, for the senate and the people call him their benefactor. Arrianus inspects this post, looking out for everything, the hospitals included. Learning that the king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus had lately died, and thinking it probable that his Emperor may wish to exercise some influence in that region, he goes to Panticapaeum,<sup>4</sup> the capital of the state, where he lets his fleet be seen, and confirms the inhabitants in the Roman alliance. When he returned into his own province he had circumnavigated this sea, had measured the distances, marked the stations, and shown to all, both friends and enemies, that the Empire was on its guard.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> . . . τοὺς πεζοὺς . . . ἐγυμνάσαμεν (*Periplus*, 3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 782. Henzen is of opinion that this garrison was furnished by the army of Moesia; but it appears to me to have been a detachment of troops from Asia Minor, since it was inspected and paid by the governor of Cappadocia. We possess a military diploma delivered by Hadrian to a soldier of Lower Dacia who was originally of Sebastopol. This city, a faithful ally of the Empire, was one of the cities which sent to the Panhellenium a statue of Hadrian, τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην (*C. I. G.* 342). The kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus always put the image of the reigning Emperor on their coins.

<sup>4</sup> In respect to the commercial importance of this place, see Vol. IV. p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> It does not seem that from Panticapaeum to Byzantium he followed the coast of the country of the Sarmatians and Thracians, a shore which was under the surveillance or the



All this was what Hadrian had desired to know; and as we have seen, by the *Vallum* in Britain, in what manner he fortified his frontiers, we learn by the *Periplus* what an amount of vigilance and activity he required of his generals. Understanding these things, we have no further need to inquire how it came to pass that the world remained for half a century in peace.

One of those tribes of the Caucasus, who later became very formidable, caused however a momentary disquietude. The Alani, after great ravages in Media and Armenia, threatened to invade Cappadocia.<sup>1</sup> Two legions were immediately set in motion, along with their auxiliaries and what we should call their artillery, and the affrighted Alani returned to their mountains. In this region Hadrian had moreover useful allies, the kings of the Iberians and Albanians. The Iberian Pharasmanes even determined to come to the banks of the Tiber to sacrifice in the temple of Jupiter; and some Bactrians who appeared there as suppliants, renewed the spectacle, so dear to Roman vanity, of Oriental embassies.

Thanks to this foreseeing policy and to these formidable armies, Roman life gained daily upon Barbarism. The desert became alive from Damascus to Petra, and the nomad saw with surprise splendid monuments erected in places where he had been used to hunt the antelope and jackal. In Upper Egypt centurions superintended the working of the porphyry quarries for the temples of Rome and Athens; in the Carpathians the Emperor's freedmen directed mining operations; and in Africa military posts were established in the gorges of the Atlas for the purpose of making labor secure in the Tell. A large part of the valley of the Danube was becoming Roman, and likewise that of the Rhine; while behind the intrenchments of the *Agri Decumates* the masters of the German Walhalla sought to find a place in the Roman Pantheon. On monuments of this region has been read the name of a companion of Odin, the Saxon Hercules, (Sachsnôt), by the side of those of Taraun, the Celtic god, and of Mithra, the Oriental divinity,—an evidence of that blending of ideas which was at work to the very

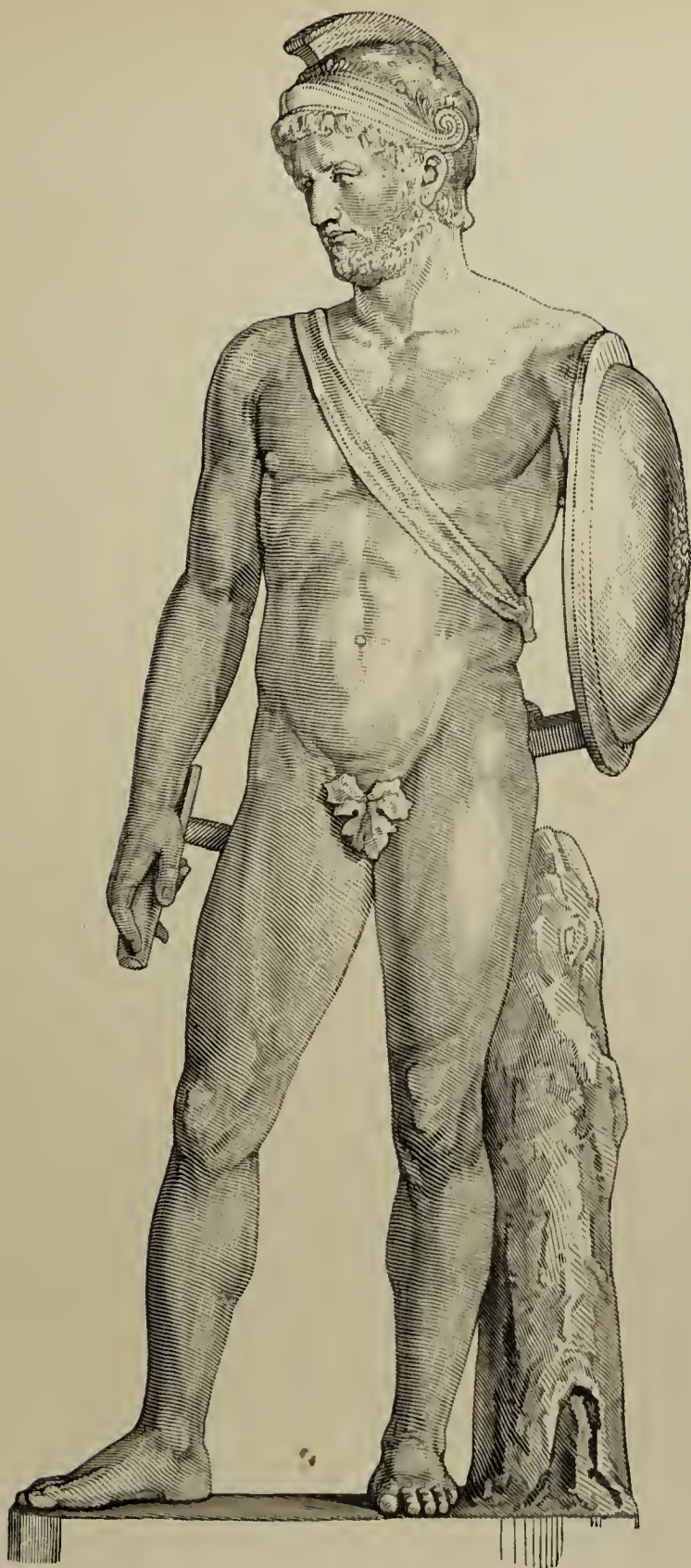
authority of the governor of Moesia; but to complete his report he gives a short and very incomplete description of it.

<sup>1</sup> This government was the largest in the Empire, for it included Cappadocia, Pontus, and Lesser Armenia.

circumference of the Roman world. Would this force be able to act further? Would the classic spirit, furnished with all the polish of Greece and all the prudence of Rome, be able to carry its municipal institutions, its civil law, its proud Stoical ideas of the dignity of man, into the midst of this shapeless, unsettled Barbaric world, where the family and rights of ownership were so feebly established, whose cities were cabins scattered over vast spaces, and whose temples were the forests? We cannot doubt that they would have done this, had not, in the first place, military usurpers, while disorganizing the army and finances of Hadrian, expended in civil war the men and resources prepared against the Barbarians; and secondly, had not the imperial administration, everywhere taking the place of the action of the citizens, and penetrating even to the inmost recesses of this great corporate body of the Roman world, ended by freezing the sources of life. It is no inexorable fate that governs the world and overturns empires; the reign of Hadrian proves that wisdom, even of an ordinary kind, might have preserved all.

## II. — HIS TRAVELS.

LET us now follow Hadrian in his journeys through the provinces. In 118 or 119 he had been recalled from the banks of the Danube to the capital by the conspiracy of the four ex-consuls; after a few months' stay at Rome and in Italy, he began, by Gaul and the banks of the Rhine, his tour through the western provinces (121). It is not known what he did in Gaul. He doubtless called together at Lyons, as we know he did in Spain, the deputies of the three provinces, for a fragmentary inscription mentions the vote of thanks passed by the assembly of the three Gauls. There remain to us of his journey through the country other official proofs of popular gratitude. These evidences are rightly enough of questionable value. Still they can be in some measure accepted, since we know that it was part of Hadrian's policy to repress abuses and by the wisdom of his government to attach the provincials to the Empire. We have coins struck for him with the



HADRIAN AS MARS. STATUE FOUND AT CEPRANO (MUSEUM OF THE  
CAPITOL, NO. 21).





inscription, "To the restorer of Gaul" and the figure of a woman whom the Emperor is assisting to rise from the ground. We know that he succored in Gaul, as he had doubtless done elsewhere, all infirm and needy soldiers.<sup>1</sup> He constructed high-



ARRIVAL OF HADRIAN IN  
GAUL.<sup>2</sup>



HADRIAN, RESTORER OF  
THE GAULS.<sup>3</sup>

ways, he erected in Nîmes, in honor of Plotina, a basilica, "an admirable work," whose ruins even have now disappeared; perhaps he also began the amphitheatre and the aqueduct now known as the *Pont du Gard*, which, as well as the basilica, were fin-

ished by Antoninus.<sup>4</sup> When he entered Cologne, he was able to recall the fact that, twenty-three years before, he had been the first to bring to Trajan, in that city, the news of the latter's adoption; Hadrian therefore was already familiar with this region, but what he did there we do not know. His biographer speaks only of a king given to one of the German tribes, of reforms carried out in the camps, of works executed on the frontier. From this we may assert that Hadrian continued Trajan's work in this direction; that on the Rhine, as on the Danube, he employed the plan of giving subsidies; and that he restrained the warlike ardor of the Barbarians by showing them that if the Empire had no desire to extend its frontier at their expense, it was nevertheless resolute in preserving that which it now had.

These military cares did not cause him to neglect civil interests; even in the frontier provinces he required details in respect to the works to be executed by the cities and the materials requisite for the same; and when there was need, he supplied deficiencies.<sup>5</sup> The medals struck in commemoration of his stay in the provinces

<sup>1</sup> M. Caillet (*op. cit.*) thus corrects an incomprehensible expression of Spartianus (*Hadr.* 9): *Omnes causarios sublevavit.* <sup>2</sup> ADVENTVI AVG. GALLIAE. S. C.

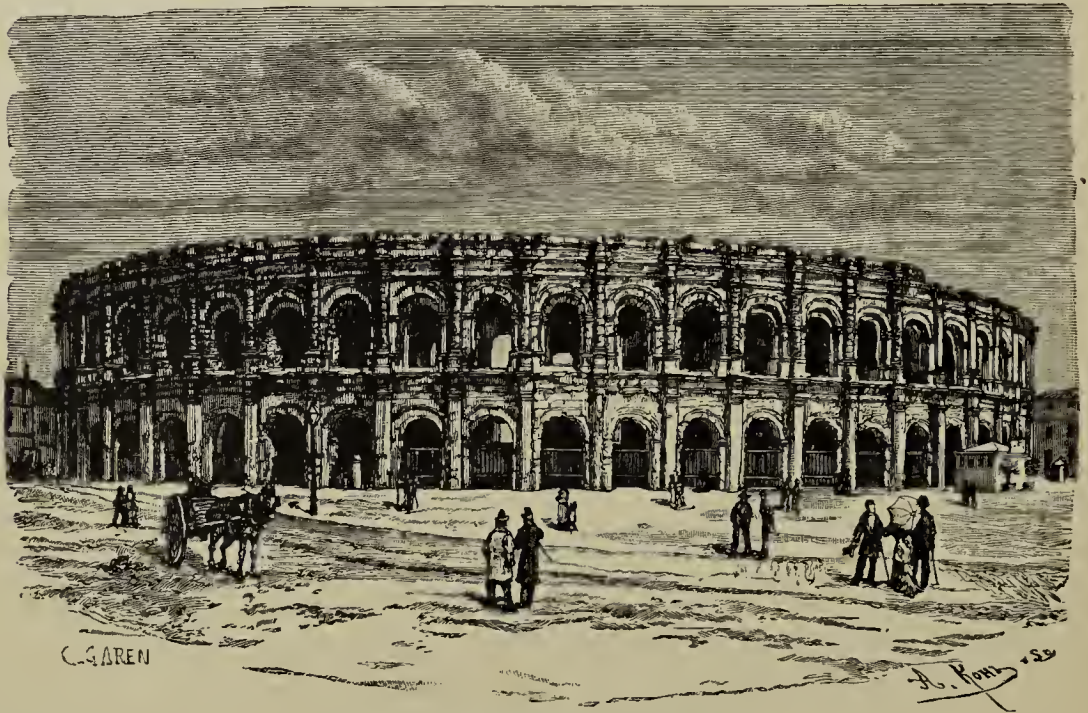
<sup>3</sup> RESTITVTORI GALLIAE. S. C. Hadrian, standing, assisting Gaul to rise. Large bronze.

<sup>4</sup> There is still to be seen in the wall of a church near Tournon an inscription, of the year 119, which the Rhone boatmen had dedicated to him (Millin, *Voyage dans le midi de la France*, ii. 76). Orelli (No. 824) regards suspiciously the epitaph on his horse Borysthenes which is said to have been found at Apt.

<sup>5</sup> *Reditus quoque provinciales solerter explorans, ut si alicubi quippiam deesset expleret* (Spart., *Hadr.* 11).

often represent him with a book, the symbol of his administrative vigilance.

If the *Forum Hadriani*, marked on Peutinger's map near Lugdunum Batavorum, was indeed founded by this Emperor, we may conclude from it that after the inspection of Upper and Lower Germany he passed through the country of the Batavi to reach the sea and Britain. To this important island he had been summoned by the recent incursions of the Caledonians.<sup>1</sup>



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF NÎMES.

When Agricola had carried beyond the Cheviot Hills, as far as the Firths of Clyde and of Forth, his line of defence, he had outstripped in the north of the island Roman civilization, which had not dared to follow him so far, and at this date did not extend beyond the environs of Eboracum (York). Some bold pioneers had gone farther; but their scattered homesteads were exposed to the sudden inroads of the mountaineers, who, making their way through between the posts, pillaged, killed, and made their escape before the cohorts could arrive. The latter, however, came up with them on one occasion, but lost many lives in the encounter; and this

<sup>1</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 11. A passage of Frontinus (*De Bello Parth.*) proves that there had also been a capture of arms by the Britons and massacres of the Roman soldiers . . . *Quantum militum a Britannis caesum.*



confirmed Hadrian in his design of leaving nothing to chance at such a distance from Italy. After having by some successful engagements cowed the Caledonians,<sup>1</sup> he was determined to effect in Britain that movement of concentration which he had executed on the Euphrates. We have already described this movement. But in establishing his principal defence on the Tyne, he really abandoned all the country which extends from this river to the Forth,—that is to say, from Newcastle to Edinburgh; and we may well marvel that he should have submitted to occupy only two thirds of the island instead of completing the conquest of it by an effort which was certainly not beyond his power. Gibbon thus explains the conduct of Hadrian: “The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked Barbarians.” A Greek, still more contemptuous towards the early condition of a country which in our days has been for a time the ruling power of the world, says: “The Romans have not cared to subdue the rest of Britain, the part which they hold being already almost useless to them.”<sup>2</sup> Besides, when we recall the obstinate resistance made, even in modern times, by the Highlanders to the Scottish kings, and by the latter to the English, it will perhaps be considered that Hadrian had a twofold reason for not entering upon this attempt.

“After having corrected many abuses<sup>3</sup> in Britain,” he returned to Gaul and traversed it a second time, on his way into Spain, where he remained a whole winter (122). In that country he no doubt showed his usual activity; but there remain of all this labor no other witnesses than fragments of inscriptions attesting that he improved the highways, and this expression on certain coins,—“To the Restorer of Spain.” We



BRITAIN HOLDING A  
SCEPTRE.

<sup>1</sup> Hence the medals with the inscriptions *Adventui Aug. Britanniae, Exerc. Britannicus* (Cohen, *Monnaies des Emp.* vol. ii. Hadrian, Nos. 594, 784, 785). See also Hübner, *C. I. L.* vol. v. p. 100, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> . . . οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ εὐφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἦν ἔχουσι (Appian, *Prooem.* 5)

<sup>3</sup> *In quae multa correxit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 10).

should be particularly curious to know what took place in the assembly of delegates from all the Iberian cities which he convoked at Tarragona for the dedication of the temple of Augustus rebuilt at his expense. Spartianus speaks only of some keen reproaches which the Emperor addressed to the citizens of Italica, his fellow-townsmen, who by culpable devices sought to avoid enrolment.<sup>1</sup>

HADRIAN AND SPAIN.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that the ruin of the military spirit in the provinces was the inevitable consequence of the organization given by Augustus to his standing army.<sup>3</sup> We know from Tacitus that the Gauls had for a long time lost the taste for arms; and now a proof of the same change is furnished by the Spaniards.

Spartianus relates a danger which Hadrian encountered at Tarragona, and from which he extricated himself "not without glory." One day when he was walking alone in a park adjoining the city, a slave belonging to his host fell upon him furiously, sword in hand. Hadrian, who was very strong and active, avoided the blow, and, seizing his assailant, held him fast. The guards who ran to the Emperor's help would have torn the slave limb from limb; but Hadrian had by this time become aware that it was a madman who had attacked him, and instead of ordering his punishment, he gave the slave in charge to the physicians to cure him, and did not even remonstrate with the master of so dangerous a servant. This story, which with a certain complacency shows Hadrian's moderation, is without doubt borrowed from his *Memoirs*; the affair may therefore have happened differently. In any case we learn from it that the Emperor was desirous to be considered as possessing that coolness in emergencies which is a wise man's strength, and

CADIZ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Delectum joculariter retractantibus . . . vehementissime, caeteris prudenter et caute consuluit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 12).

<sup>2</sup> *RESTITVTORI HISPANIAE S. C.* Hadrian, standing, raising up Spain, kneeling, who holds an olive-branch. Between them a rabbit, "symbol of the many mines worked in Spain." Large bronze (Greppo, *Voy. d'Hadr.* p. 93, No. 2; Cohen, No. 1,074).

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. IV. of this work, pp. 387-391.

<sup>4</sup> Gold coin with the figure of Hercules, the principal divinity of Cadiz. Cohen, No. 267.

a spirit of justice which prevented him from regarding a mad-man as a criminal.

It is singular that during this stay in Spain Hadrian neither visited his own native town, Italica, nor his mother's, Cadiz.<sup>1</sup> That he should have resisted the natural desire to show the master of the world to those who knew his origin to be from a house of hardly consular rank, implies some urgent necessity hastening his departure. Was it because of commotion again among the Mauri? Spartianus asserts this; but we cannot infer from his language that the Emperor went direct from Spain to Africa, whither besides he seems to have gone twice at least, for his order to the troops at Lambese was in the year 128.



MAURETANIA.<sup>2</sup>

We know nothing of the first journey; but in respect to the second there remain some details which we insert here, to avoid returning to Africa. For five years not a drop of rain had fallen in the oases. This fact, which is not extraordinary, is always a calamity;<sup>3</sup> and as on his arrival an abundance of rain fell, it was looked on as a miracle, and the benefit was attributed to him, "which endeared him to the Africans." He further gained their good-will by more real services, putting an end to the disorders of Mauretania and founding several colonies, or giving that title to some of the old municipia; *e. g.*, to Thenae in the Byzacena, and to Zama in Numidia. He repaired the great aqueduct which brought water from Mount Zaghouan<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "He loaded Italica with benefits and honors" (Dion, lxi. 10); later, he himself asked the Senate to grant this town the title of colony (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xvi. 13); and an inscription speaks of his liberality to Baetica (Greppo, p. 95), after the eleventh year of his reign, because he bore then the title *Pater Patriae*, which he accepted only in the year 128.

<sup>2</sup> Mauretania, holding a horse by the bridle and carrying two javelins (large bronze. Cohen, No. 967).

<sup>3</sup> It rains annually on the sea-coast, but the Sahara sometimes remains for seven years and more without rain.

<sup>4</sup> The town of Zaghouan stands at the base of a mountain of the same name, in a charming country, on the ruins of an ancient city. A Roman triumphal gate, of which there remains only an arcade of about thirteen feet span, serves as entrance. The temple of Zaghouan was built over one of the principal springs which fed the aqueduct to Carthage. The name of the divinity to which this temple was consecrated has disappeared with the frieze bearing the dedicatory inscription. It is thought that the edifice is of the same date as the aqueduct; that is to say, that it was begun under Hadrian and finished under Septimius Severus.



to Carthage, and ordered the legion quartered at Lambese to finish the works of Mount Aurasius,—a road along the base of the mountain and, at the entrance of each gorge, a small fort to defend the passage.<sup>1</sup> The system was that of the *Vallum Hadriani*, with this difference, that the mountain served for a wall.

The cities followed the example given them, and great efforts were put forth to adorn the towns or facilitate communications between them. Thus an inscription informs us that at this period Cirta constructed at its own expense all the bridges on the road leading from its walls to Rusicada (Philippeville) that is to say, from Constantine to the sea. Facts like these seem perhaps trivial; but the reader will remember that our material for the history of this important reign is very scanty. We are in the position of the naturalist who cannot neglect the least fragment of an extinct animal, since it may perhaps reveal to him what the animal was, its form, its organs, even its mode of life. In the absence of detailed information, we quote once more the expression of Spartianus: "He loaded the African provinces with benefits;" and this inscription on many coins: "To the Restorer of Africa." Later we shall see what these words imply.



HADRIAN, RESTORER  
OF AFRICA.<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor returned from Africa to the capital; and it is conjectured, from a coin, that he was there in 120, on occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. Towards the end of this year he was already on his way to the East, which the Parthians were threatening. Hadrian invited Chosroës to an interview, and all was set at rest (122 or 123). He sent him back his daughter, who had been made prisoner by one of Trajan's generals, but refused to restore to him the massive gold throne of the Arsacidae,—a trophy which was to the Romans

<sup>1</sup> M. Léon Renier has found at Lambese a large number of inscriptions of this legion from the reign of Hadrian to that of Constantine. It was there doubtless a long time before Hadrian (cf. Tac., *Hist.* ii. 97; iv. 48, 49), and has left traces of itself or the funeral inscriptions of its veterans in many places in Numidia, in Aurasius, and even in the oases. There have just been found (1881) two military boundary stones revealing the existence of a road made by the *IIIa Augusta* between Simittu and Thabraea, across the country of the Khroumirs (*Rev. arch.* 1881, p. 223, and *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1881, p. 76).

<sup>2</sup> Large bronze. Cohen, No. 1,053.





RUINS OF A TEMPLE AND A ROMAN GATE AT ZAGHOUAN (TUNIS).





what the standards of Crassus had been to the Parthians. Under similar circumstances Trajan had haughtily rejected advances and explanations, had forced the Parthians to a war which they did not desire, and after much bloodshed and the destruction of many cities he had retired, conquered by a region stronger than his genius. Hadrian pacified the East without unsettling it by the shock of arms and without desolating it. Which of the two was the better policy?



MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF THE FOUNDATION OF ROME.<sup>1</sup>

He appears to have remained three or four years (122–125) in the Eastern provinces, returning thither again in 129. It being impossible to distinguish what he did in these countries during each of these tours, we shall defer till the second<sup>2</sup> the few facts which we have to relate.

Towards the end of the year 125 he returned by way of Greece, traversing that glittering sea of the Cyclades<sup>3</sup> where the navigator has always in sight some island with musical name, full of historic or poetic memories. The Emperor crossed it slowly, stopping at those places on which history had left its ineffaceable stamp, or where nature and art had adorned the spot with some lovely scene or some masterpiece of genius. Famous temples, celebrated pictures and statues, or the scenes of ancient exploits, all attracted him, and he charmed an artistic race by this homage rendered to objects of national pride. Athens, “in which we feel the eternal breath of youth and beauty,”<sup>4</sup> had not a citizen who would more frequently go up the Pnyx and sit down on the top of the quarried rock which had been Demosthenes’ platform, whence the eye could

<sup>1</sup> ANN. DCCCLXXIII NAT. VRB. P. CIR. CON. S. C. Year of Rome 874 (120 A. D.). ANNo NATali VRBis Primum? CIRcenses CONstituti. Woman, seated, holding a wheel in her right hand and in the left three obelisks. Large bronze. (Cohen, No. 660.) This wheel cannot be that of inconstant Fortune, since the medal was struck to attest the constancy of Roman grandeur. It must be an imitation of the Oriental symbol which made this sign a representation of divinity. This symbolism will be explained in the last volume. See also Vol. III. p. 249, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> This second tour in Asia is in reality the third, because after his accession he had slowly traversed the Oriental provinces from Antioch to the Adriatic *per Illyricum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Post hæc per Asiam et insulas ad Achaïam navigavit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 13). Eusebius (*Chron. ad ann.*) makes him pass at Athens the winter of 125–126; and Franz (*C. I. G.* vol. iii. No. 6,280) accepts this date.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Dumont, *Éphebie*, i. 118, after Plutarch.

contemplate with ecstasy the entire city, the half of Attica, the sea which sparkles towards Salamis and Epidaurus, while near at hand the Propylaea and the Parthenon dominated with their sovereign beauty this marvellous whole.



HADRIAN, RESTORER  
OF GREECE.<sup>1</sup>

He returned to Italy after the winter by way of Sicily (126). At Antioch he had ascended Mount Casius<sup>2</sup> by night to see the sun rise out of the eastern mists; and he did the same at Aetna. Is he not like a man of our own time ascending the Righi to behold one of those harmonies of earth and sky, the sight of which becomes so needful to minds wearied by the cares of too confined and laborious a life? The ancients did not possess this taste for picturesque beauty. The Greeks felt it from a poetical instinct; but many a Roman would willingly have annihilated the sea, the lakes, and the mountains, which made difficult the cultivation of the soil or were obstacles in the way of military roads.<sup>3</sup> Hadrian, whose busts present a physiognomy so little Roman, differed from his own time by this trait of his character as much as he did by his method of ruling.

Those endless journeyings, those travels from the Euphrates to the Thames, from the Danube to Mount Atlas, astonished the luxurious Romans and wounded their pride as masters of the world. It did not appear to them that the Emperor owed so much solicitude to the conquered. The poets ridiculed it. "No," says one of them, Florus, "I should not like to be Caesar, to be compelled to traverse the country of the Britons, to be obliged to endure the frosts of Scythia." And Hadrian replied to them: "Nor should I like to be Florus, to haunt the city taverns, to bury myself in drinking-shops and be obliged to endure there the bites of gnats." Rome received with coldness an Emperor who neglected her and valued none of her festivals or honors, not even the consulship. From 119 to his death, in 138, he did not

<sup>1</sup> Large bronze, Cohen, No. 1,050.

<sup>2</sup> The Djebel-Okra, which rises over six thousand feet.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Lucretius, Vergil, and occasionally Horace, who were truly lovers of nature, the Romans loved her in a petty way, albeit they covered with their villas the slopes of the Apennines and the coast of the Bay of Naples. In the long descriptions which Pliny has left us of his country houses, we see much bad taste and, above all, the desire for material comfort.





PANATHENAEA : FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON, IN THE MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE.





once assume the fasces;<sup>1</sup> he usually disdained to put on the coins his title of tribune,<sup>2</sup> — the sign, nevertheless, of his sovereign power; only after he had reigned eleven years did he accept the appellation of *Pater Patriae*,<sup>3</sup> and only once was he proclaimed emperor.<sup>4</sup>



HADRIAN, PATER  
PATRIAE.<sup>5</sup>

What motive determined him to set out again? Was it this indifference? or was it the fear of the plots forever brewing in his capital? or may it have been the fixed determination of this provincial Emperor to live for the provinces, and to gratify his tastes at the same time that he fulfilled his duties? We have so few details concerning him that we cannot say; this, however, is certain, — after a stay at Rome, the length of which cannot be fixed, he left the city to revisit Africa (128); he then returned to the East;<sup>6</sup> and again he remained a while in Greece (129). As we possess the writings of another great traveller, almost his contemporary, who travelled through this country when the recollection of Hadrian was still fresh in it, we shall know from him what meaning to attach to those words which Spartianus repeats regarding each province where the Emperor stayed, — “He loaded it with his gifts.” In telling us what Hadrian did in Greece, Pausanias gives us reason to conjecture what he must have done elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> However, we must not expect to find there either works of fortification or the construction of military roads, useless in a country situated in the heart of the Empire, where no legion was stationed.

At Corinth he constructed baths in several quarters of the city, and an aqueduct which brought the water from Lake Stympa-

<sup>1</sup> He had been consul under Trajan in 108; he was so only twice besides after his accession, in 118 and 119.

<sup>2</sup> It is this which makes the chronology of Hadrian's reign so confused, the years of the Emperors being reckoned by the years of their tribuneship. The first year of this was considered as beginning on the day of an Emperor's accession (*dies imperii*); the second and all following, on the 1st of January of the subsequent years.

<sup>3</sup> In 128 (Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.* vi. 515 *et seq.*).

<sup>4</sup> In 135, after the war against the Jews (see Henzen, No. 5,457).

<sup>5</sup> Silver coin struck at Alexandria.

<sup>6</sup> *Cum, post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad Orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit* (Spart., *Had.* 13).

<sup>7</sup> . . . *ejus itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiae atque Europae urbes* (Fronto, *Princ. hist.*).

lus;<sup>1</sup> at Nemea, a hippodrome. He restored its glorious name to Mantinea,<sup>2</sup> built a temple to Neptune there, and engraved on the tomb of Epaminondas an inscription which he had himself composed. In Phocis he presented Hyampolis with a portico, and Abae with a sanctuary of Apollo to replace the great temple which was burned by the Thebans in the Sacred War, five centuries before. To the Argives he gave as an offering for their temple



THE SO-CALLED BEMA OF THE PNYX OF ATHENS.

of Juno the favorite bird of that goddess,—a golden peacock, whose tail sparkled with precious stones; and he permitted them to re-establish the horse-races of the Nemean Games, which had fallen into desuetude. Lastly, between Corinth and Megara he widened what had been only a foot-path through the Scironian pass into a good road where two chariots could pass; and on the highway from Eleusis to Athens he rebuilt a bridge which the Cephissus had carried away.<sup>3</sup> We should know much more if we possessed

<sup>1</sup> He constructed another aqueduct at Dyrrachium (Heuzey, *Mission de Mac.* p. 387, inser. 172).

<sup>2</sup> The city had been captured in 222 B. C. by Antigonos Doson, and its name changed to Antigoneia in honor of the Macedonian monarch.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless Eleusis then began to build its Propylaea, discovered by M. Fr. Lenormant, which were as large as those of Athens. If they were not the work of Hadrian, they were certainly the result of the impulse which he had given.



the inscription placed in the Pantheon at Athens, which enumerated the temples built by him or enriched by his offerings, all his acts of munificence in the country of his choice, and even his liberality towards cities outside of the Empire.



THE ARCH OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS.

But even in Greece he had his favorite place,—the city of Minerva, which he desired to make the capital of Hellas and of all the Hellenic East. The Athenians felt that their best days had returned to them when they saw the master of the world wearing



the Greek dress<sup>1</sup> and making himself their fellow-citizen, seriously fulfilling his duties as archon<sup>2</sup> and as umpire at the games, presiding at their Eleusinian mysteries, and placing upon the tomb of Miltiades the statue which they themselves had neglected to place there.<sup>3</sup> According to Eusebius, they asked him for a constitution preserving the assembly and the popular tribunals, but defining the prerogatives of the senate as judge in disputed cases. Hadrian lived like some rich citizen; accessible to every one, discussing with architects the plans of buildings, with philosophers questions of learning. Sometimes he interrupted those peaceful pleasures by violent exercise, — once by a hunting expedition; and on his return, celebrated in Greek verses, which we still possess, his perilous victory over a she-bear in the Thespian mountains.<sup>4</sup>

Athens once more became what it had formerly been, — the great school of Greece. It was once more called upon to give lessons in oratory and composition; and rhetoricians and sophists hastened thither to seek that renown which procured for them riches, honors, even the lucrative priesthoods readily given to these brilliant talkers,<sup>5</sup> at the risk of intrusting the care of religious interests to the very men who were to make solitude in the temples. The Emperor took delight in their discourses, but was chiefly occupied in his great building operations on the plain of the Ilissus. As he travelled surrounded by architects and skilled workmen organized as a legion and divided into cohorts under experienced

<sup>1</sup> "He never showed himself outside Rome with the insignia of sovereignty" (Dion. lxi. 10).

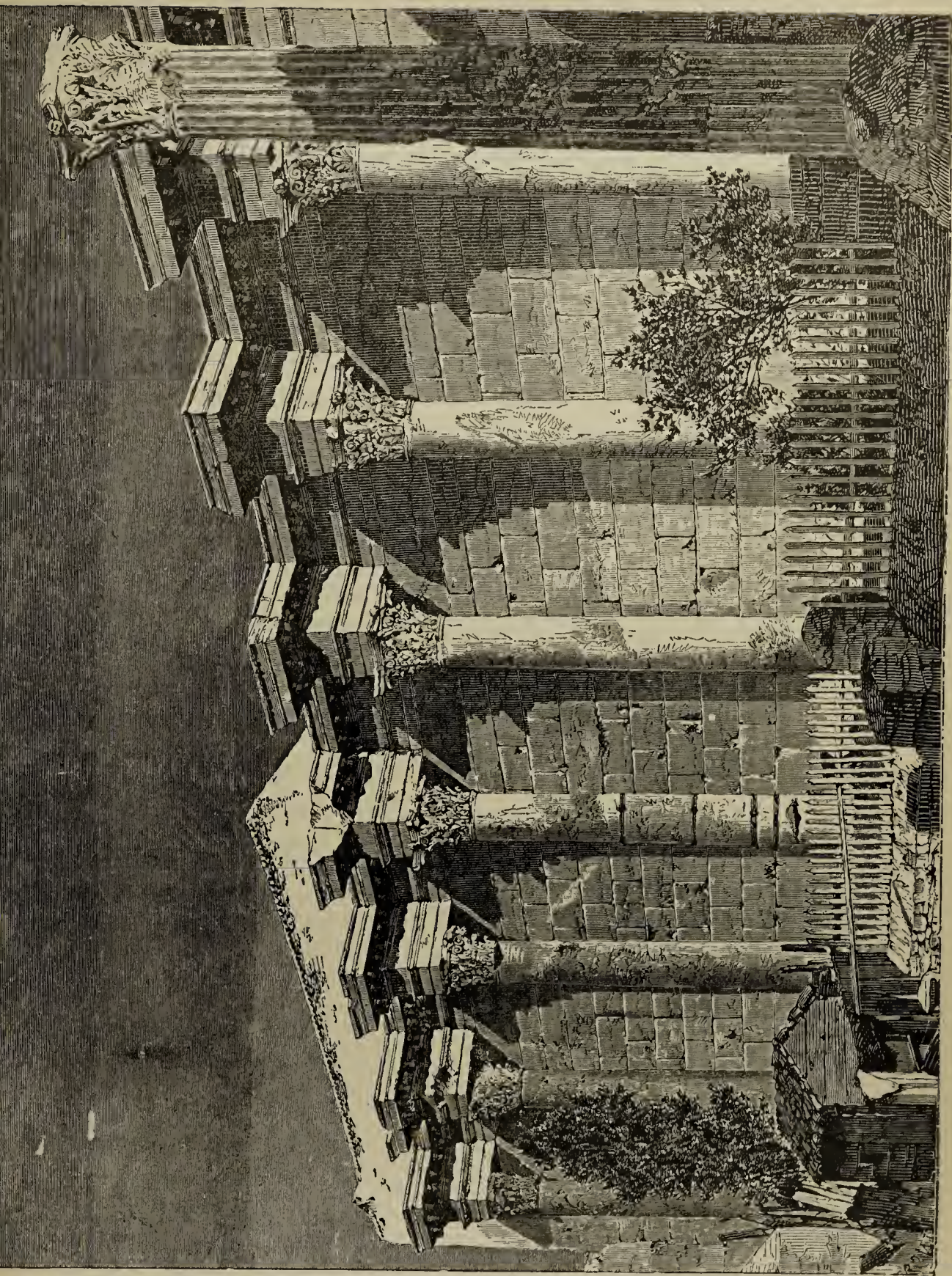
<sup>2</sup> His first archonship was in the year 112 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 623, ed. Didot). There has been recently found in the theatre of Dionysus the base of the statue which had been erected to him as archon.

<sup>3</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 13. According to Saint Jerome (*De Vir. illustr.* 19), . . . *omnibus pene Graeciae sacris initiatus*. We shall see later the inscription of the hierophant who initiated him into the Eleusinian mysteries.

<sup>4</sup> There was found, in 1870, near Thespieae, an epigram in eight verses, very probably by Hadrian, and of which M. Egger has given the following translation: "Young archer, son of Cypris the soft-voiced, who inhabitest Heliconian Thespieae, near the fair garden of Narcissus, be favorable and accept the votive offering which Hadrian presents thee for a she-bear which from his horse he had the luck to slay. And in return wilt thou, as the wise god, breathe on him the grace which comes from Aphrodite Urania!" (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1870, p. 57.)

<sup>5</sup> Atticus Herodes was priest of the Olympicium. (See the inscription found by M. Lablaeche, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 37.) Aristides, his pupil, held the priesthood of Asia; Favorinus, that of the Gauls.





PORTICO OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS.





heads,<sup>1</sup> the work rapidly advanced; in a little time a new city arose near the ancient one, and the triumphal arch which still exists below the eastern point of the Acropolis bears these words engraved on one of its faces: "This is Athens of Theseus, the ancient city;" and on the other: "This is the city of Hadrian, and not that of Theseus." Hadrianopolis was from the time of its origin decorated with numerous monuments, which, unable to rival the severe grandeur of the temple of "the Virgin goddess," united at least all the architectural refinements of a period when art sought the beautiful in magnificence.

He was assisted in this work by the celebrated rhetorician Atticus Herodes, the teacher of Aulus Gellius and of Pausanias, pupils who fortunately, while availing themselves of his erudition, were not led astray by his rhetoric. Herodes built, or completed, in the new town a bridge over the Ilissus, the Stadium, which he covered with Pentelican marble,<sup>2</sup> and on one of the hills which command it, a temple of Fortune. He had founded a rich library, and Hadrian surrounded it with porticos supported by a hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian marble; the walls were of the same material, the ceilings overlaid with alabaster or gold, the halls adorned with statues and valuable paintings. Near it he constructed a gymnasium having a hundred columns of Lybian marble; farther off, a temple of Juno. The Greeks, therefore, delighted with these favors done to their race, even with those which seemed to concern the Athenians<sup>3</sup> alone, placed a statue of Hadrian in the temple of Olympia by the side of that which they had erected in honor of Trajan, and built, in the new city of Athens, the Panhellenium,<sup>4</sup> — a temple of Jupiter and

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> I saw in January, 1870, the Panathenaic Stadium nearly cleared of rubbish; the excavations furnished nothing. [I saw in 1875 the new Olympic games celebrated there. — Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> He gave the Athenians, besides large sums of money, an annual allowance of corn, the Island of Cephallenia, and an aqueduct which Antoninus completed the second year of his reign (Orelli, No. 511). He issued a decree to secure an oil supply for the city; the third of the whole crop in Attica was reserved for it (*C. I. G.* No. 355).

<sup>4</sup> The Panhellenium was consecrated to Jupiter Panhellenius, according to Pausanias (*Att.* 18); to Hadrian, according to Dion (lxix. 16). Spartian also says (13) that Hadrian set up an altar to himself in Athens (*dedicavit . . . et aram sibi*): opinions which will mutually agree if it is admitted that this temple answers to the political sentiment which at Lyons and Tarragona had caused those of Rome and Augustus to be erected. An inscription discovered at Tegea gave Hadrian the title of Zeus Panhellenius (*Inscr. de Morée*, i. 91).

Hadrian, near which annual games were to be celebrated in the presence of the deputies of the whole of Greece.



JUNO (VILLA LUDOVISI).

For some time this Panhellenium appeared to be the political sanctuary of Hellas, as were the temples of Rome and Augustus at Tarragona and Lyons of the western provinces.<sup>1</sup> Some inscriptions belonging to the end of the reign of Antoninus<sup>2</sup> show the Panhellenes in correspondence with distant peoples, even with the Emperor. But the Greeks of that time were no longer capable of united action in respect to anything more than their amusements. At Lyons the Gauls occasionally exhibited some political insight; at Athens only paltry passions were aroused and only base flatteries were heard there. The subjection to the master was certainly more complete. Around the altar of Rome and Augustus the Gauls had at

least erected the statues of their sixty cities, representing the Gallic nationality in the presence of the new divinities. This idea, which had a certain grandeur in it, never occurred to the Greeks. There were indeed in the Panhellenium innumerable statues sent by the Hellenic cities of the continent, the isles, and the coasts of Asia and the Pontus Euxinus; but they were all images of the Emperor, as if he alone filled earth and heaven. Was not he the true Panhellenian Zeus, the true master of Olympus? At Athens there can still be read on the pedestal of the statue erected on this

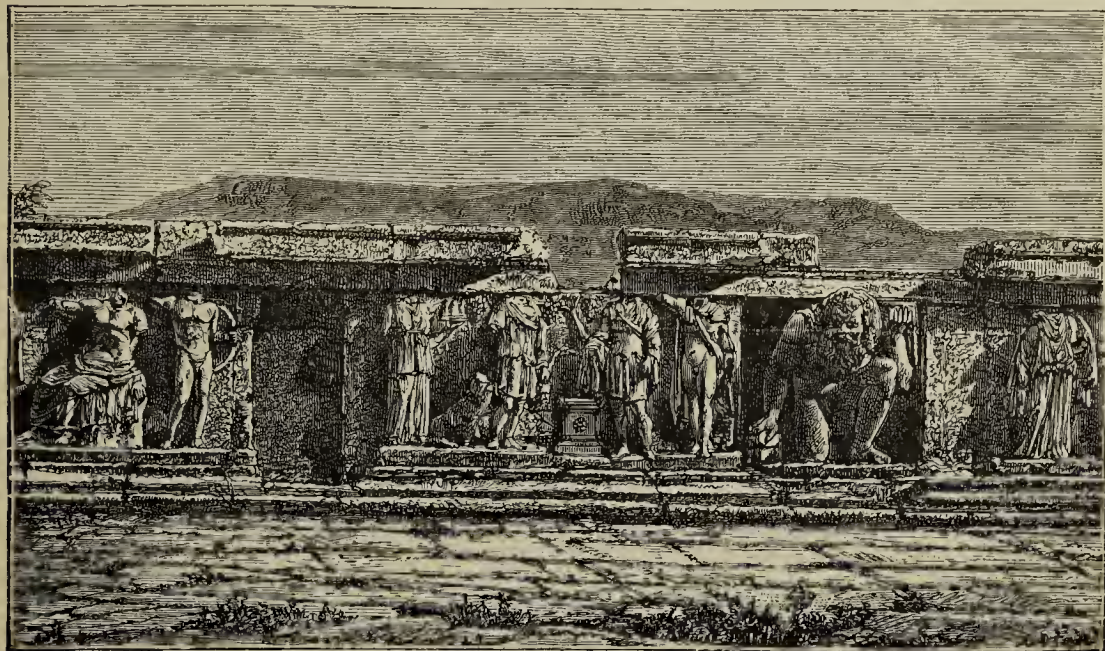
<sup>1</sup> See Vol. IV. p. 168 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique, Ve partie*, Nos. 866-867.



occasion by the Dienses<sup>1</sup> that title which the Greeks had given him, and the whole East repeated "Olympio."<sup>2</sup>

All these buildings and Hadrian's city itself have disappeared; and still when, descending from the Propylaea, we leave the temple of Theseus behind us, and turn southward past the huge rock so grandly crowned with its majestic ruins, we see first on the slope of the Acropolis the theatre of Dionysus, still retaining the white



BAS-RELIEF OF THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS (IN FRONT OF THE STAGE).

marble seats where once Pericles sat, and from which Hadrian listened to some comedy of Menander; and farther away, in the plain of the Ilissus, fifteen columns,—some standing alone, others still united by their architrave,—whose colossal proportions, rich carving, and warm and golden tints, relieved against the blue of the sky, fill the mind with wonder and admiration, even in the immediate neighborhood of the Parthenon. These columns are all that remain of the vastest temple of the Graeco-Roman world, the Olympieum, begun by Peisistratus, continued in the

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 548. We have also those of Cephallenia, Amphipolis, Thasos, Abydos, Sestos, Sebastopol, Miletus, Cyprus, etc. (*C. I. G.* Nos. 331 *et seq.*). The imperial medals are rare in Greece properly so called. It is to be noted that the imperial series of Elis, and very probably that of Argos, begin with Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> *Abae* had given him one of the titles of Jupiter, *βουλαῖος*, the good counsellor, and his statue had been placed at Athens in the place where the senate held their sittings.

reign of Augustus, and finished at the end of seven centuries by Hadrian.<sup>1</sup>

Why were these temples constructed or rebuilt? Was it from religious zeal? Hadrian belonged to an age when religions slowly but continuously “fell like the sea” when the tide is going out. He saw “the old, bent priest” offering “on the last altar the last hecatomb;” and he had heard the funereal cry: Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε. But he cared little for the great Olympians who were



ATHENS, THE  
ACROPOLIS.<sup>2</sup>

about to die; he was an artist, and art having no finer form of expression than in temples, he built them; and he summoned sculptors and painters to decorate them, rhetoricians to discourse, philosophers to dream under their porticos. If divinity was no longer present, human thought filled them; and this civilization of Greece was so beautiful, this Roman

Peace of the Empire was so grand, that it did not seem to him that a human soul could have need of anything more.<sup>3</sup>

From Athens the Emperor crossed to proconsular Asia, which in the immense garden of the Empire “appeared the most favored region.” It was the native land of the artists who had erected all these monuments, and of the Sophists whose skilled eloquence kept back in the East the invasion of the conqueror’s speech and would soon extinguish, even in Italy, the clear, simple genius of Latium. Returning from their sojourn in Athens, these men opened schools in some one or other of the five hundred cities of Asia, and soon they acquired wealth and even power. Favorinus at Ephesus, and Aristocles at Pergamus were important personages, and Polemon was nothing less than a ruler in Smyrna: the senate listened to his counsels with deference, the crowd applauded his discourses;

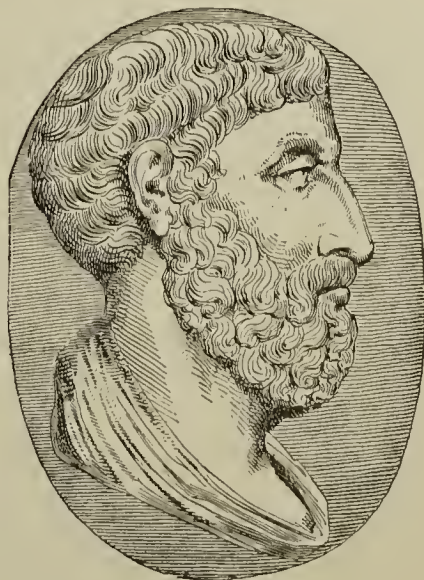
<sup>1</sup> The inclosed area of the temple was 822 yards (Pausanias, i. 18, says four stadia), each column  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter and nearly 60 feet in height (according to Penrose, 55 feet 1 inch). Athens adopted on this occasion a new era, dating from the dedication of the temple.

<sup>2</sup> Athenian (bronze) coin, in which the artist has aimed at uniting, but with little taste, the summit of the Acropolis, the grotto of Pan, which is on one of the sides of the rock, and the theatre of Dionysus, constructed at the base.

<sup>3</sup> Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.* 43) writes: *Hadrianus . . . templa in omnibus civitatibus, sine simulacris, jussu fieri, quae hodie, idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani.* One of these temples, at Tiberias, still bears, from the time of Constantine, the name of Ἀδριανεῖον. This passage of Lampridius says more about the true sentiments of Hadrian than the trite phrases of Spartianus (*Hadr.* 23) touching his official devotion, *sacra Romana diligentissime curavit . . . pontificis maximi officium peregit.*



when he travelled his horses had silver reins, and behind his chariot followed an army of slaves. He obliged the Roman governors to take counsel with him; in the following reign we shall see in what fashion he treated the man who was later to become the Emperor Antoninus. But how could a proconsul of those days have resisted a favorite of the whole Greek East and of the Emperor himself, — a man of whom another famous rhetorician, Atticus Herodes, said: "I have had Polemon for my master, when I myself was a master of eloquence." And he relates that on reaching Smyrna, his first visit was paid to Polemon; "My father, when shall we hear thee?" Known as a critical hearer, Herodes was astonished at the reply of the master: "This very day; come now and listen."<sup>1</sup> After so many ages of war, the world, tired with action, desired nothing more than the intoxication of sonorous, harmonious, empty language. All the Greeks in Egypt united under Antoninus to erect in Alexandria a statue to the rhetorician Aristides, as a mark of their admiration.<sup>3</sup> From Rome to Athens, from Athens to Smyrna, thence to Alexandria and Carthage, extempore eloquence bore sway,<sup>4</sup> a charming gift, which astonishes crowds and gains the causes of the moment, but is often fatal to true art and to thought. What will these facile composers of phrases have done with the old civilization before a century has passed away? What have they already done with it in Athens and Alexandria?

HERODES ATTICUS.<sup>2</sup>

In these provinces of Asia are everywhere to be found traces of Hadrian's passage or recollections of him: cities destroyed by earthquakes which he assisted to rise from their ruins;<sup>5</sup> many

<sup>1</sup> Vidal-Lablache, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 28; cf. Philostr., *Vitae Soph.* 13-18, in *Polem.*

<sup>2</sup> Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 132.

<sup>4</sup> . . . αὐτοσχεδίου λόγους (Philostr., ii. 3).

<sup>5</sup> As Cyzicus and Nicomedeia: *Terrae motu facto, Nicomedia ruit et vicinae urbes plurimae eversae sunt. Ad quarum instaurationem Hadrianus de publico est largitus impensas* (Saint Jerome, *Chron. ad ann. iv. Hadr.* and John Malala, *Chronog.* p. 277).



towns aided and beautified, which out of gratitude assumed his name, instituted games or struck medals in honor of "the saviour god" and "the restorer of the provinces;" temples and statues erected in his honor; harbors and roads constructed at his expense. There does not seem to be a district of the great peninsula which the imperial traveller failed to visit, and by his gifts, his counsels, his example, he everywhere aroused a noble activity and a generous emulation for all the works of civilized life. Thus the great gymnasium of Smyrna was built by means of a public subscription which Hadrian originated, or aided by giving a very large sum,<sup>1</sup> and we still possess the list of contributors.<sup>2</sup> This was the same with our system of encouragement to works of public utility by a subvention from the state. A like method prevailed everywhere and throughout the whole period of the Antonines; and this explains how it came to pass that the Empire then appeared like an immense busy workshop.

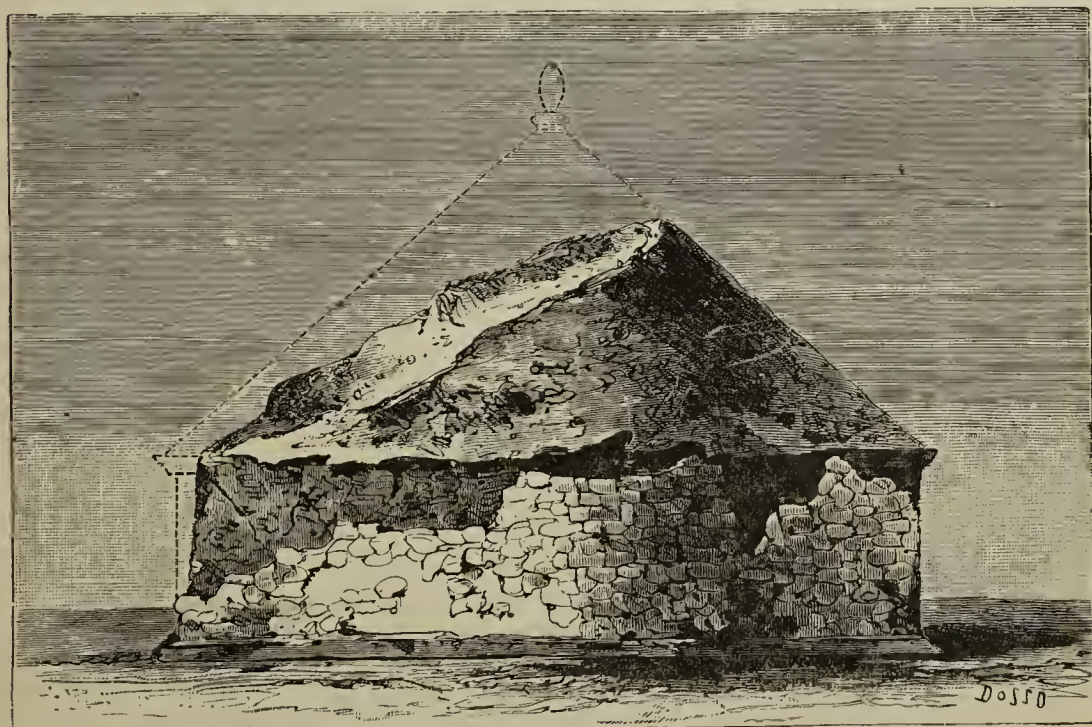
We may mention some facts at random, since it is not possible to determine accurately either the dates or the itinerary.

Doubtless Hadrian landed at Smyrna, "the Pearl of the East" and the real capital of smiling Ionia. Situated at the head of one of the finest bays in the world, on the slopes of a mountain crowned at the present day by the ruins of an immense Genoese fortress, and without doubt at that time by some beautiful Greek temple, surrounded by fertile lands traversed by Homer's stream, Smyrna was a magnificent vestibule through which to enter Asia, and the Roman governors always came into their province by this route. Hadrian had a great friend there, Polemon, the same who had lately delivered at Athens a discourse on the dedication of the Olympieum, and who had inspired the Emperor with a special friendliness for the city which was called in Oriental Greece "the sanctuary of the Muses." This friendliness showed itself by numerous largesses, which were employed in the construction of several edifices, among others of a temple, and of a gymnasium, which Philostratus declares to be the finest in Asia. The Smyrniotes

<sup>1</sup> *Χιλίας μυριάδας* (C. I. G., No. 3,148).

<sup>2</sup> This practice, known under the name of *ἑπιδόσεις*, was usual and ancient; see, e. g. in Letronne (*Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 389) a subscription list for the expenses of sacrifices and festivals. Miller (*Revue archéol.* of 1870) gives a list for the erection of a temple, comprising perhaps two hundred and seventy names.

gave him in return the titles of "Olympian, Saviour, Founder," and decreed in his honor "perpetual festivals," or "Hadrianic games." Miletus and all the other cities did the same. The sceptical Emperor knew well enough what to think of this oriental exaggeration, which we should do wrong to take literally; it was



TOMB CALLED THAT OF TANTALUS.<sup>1</sup>

the politeness of the time, and he attached no more importance to these formulas than to the notes of a musical melody which the winds bear away. We may fear however that he was more affected by the medals which they struck with the figure of Antinous.

In the environs of Smyrna are to be found two archæological



DIANA OF EPHEBUS  
(OBSERVE). SILVER  
MEDAL.

curiosities which Hadrian certainly did not fail to visit: the tomb called that of Tantalus, half way up Mount Sipylus, which overlooks the bay; and a day's journey from the city, on the road from Sardis to Ephesus, the Nymphæum, where there is to be



HADRIAN  
(REVERSE).

seen a bas-relief concerning which Herodotus tells us that it was

<sup>1</sup> After Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 130. This tumulus of stones, with pointed arched sepulchral chamber, is 88½ feet high and 347½ in circumference.



sculptured there by order of Sesostris fifteen centuries before the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> He visited Miletus, and the rich city of Ephesus, which was then prosperous, and in the latter place erected a temple to the Roman Fortune which all peoples worshipped, even in



THE NYMPHAEUM, NEAR SMYRNA.<sup>2</sup>

those cities where she had no altar. He passed through Lesbos and the Troad.<sup>3</sup> To please the admirers of the *Iliad*, although he himself did not admire it, he restored the tomb of Ajax and

<sup>1</sup> Kiepert, Rosellini, and M. Perrot (*Mém. d'Arch.* No. 2) rightly believe that this monument is not Egyptian. [It is now shown by Professor Sayce to be Hittite in character, and points to the conquests of that people, whom he has at last rescued from oblivion. — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Texier, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pl. 132.

<sup>3</sup> An inscription of the year 124, found in the ruins of Ilium, seems to proceed from Hadrian also (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 466).



rendered great honors to that least lovable of Homer's heroes; to gratify the inhabitants of Alexandria-Troas, he gave them an aqueduct which is still to be seen near Eski-Stamboul, and he intrusted to Atticus Herodes, orator and architect, the superintendence of its construction. It was already the practice not to



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT MILETUS.<sup>1</sup>

abide by the estimates. Atticus spent much more than Hadrian had promised; and the Emperor, liberal but not extravagant, a lover of order in everything, even at the expense of his friends,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Texier, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pl. 136.

<sup>2</sup> He had been on friendly terms with Atticus, the father of Herodes, and he gave the son a mission in proconsular Asia.

approved his procurators who complained, and the excess of the expenditure was put to the account of the rhetorician.

He left to the inhabitants of Nium something with which their vanity was for a short time more gratified than with the aqueduct of Aristides,—six Greek verses celebrating the glory of their city and their courage: “Hector, son of Mars, if you hear me below ground, I salute you. Be proud of your country. Nium, the famous city, is always peopled with men; they are not equal to you, and yet they also are very warlike. The Myrmidons exist no longer.



HADRIAN THE OLYMPIAN. COIN STRUCK AT CYZICUS.<sup>1</sup>

Go and tell Achilles that the whole of Thessaly is at the feet of the sons of Aeneas.”

At Nicomedeia he was given the title of Founder, with less flattery than elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and Cyzicus built a temple to him, the imposing mass of which, says the rhetorician Aristeides,<sup>4</sup> was seen so far off that it replaced the signals which guided ships in their course through the Propontis. He stayed a long time in this region of Bithynia, which the Turks call “the sea of trees,”—a region which reminds travellers of the most charming scenes in Switzerland: running waters, meadows still green under the July sun, numerous flocks, and here and there chalets built of logs.<sup>5</sup> Hadrian, a great sportsman,<sup>6</sup> was charmed with this district full of game, and founded there two cities, of which one, called Hadrian’s Hunt (Hadrianotherae) preserved the recollection of an exploit of his,—the killing of an enormous she-bear, such as are still to be found on the slopes of Olympus.



COIN OF HADRIANOTHERAE.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙΣ. ΤΡΑΙΑ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ (the Autocrat Caesar Trajan Hadrian Olympian). Bronze coin.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 361, note 5.

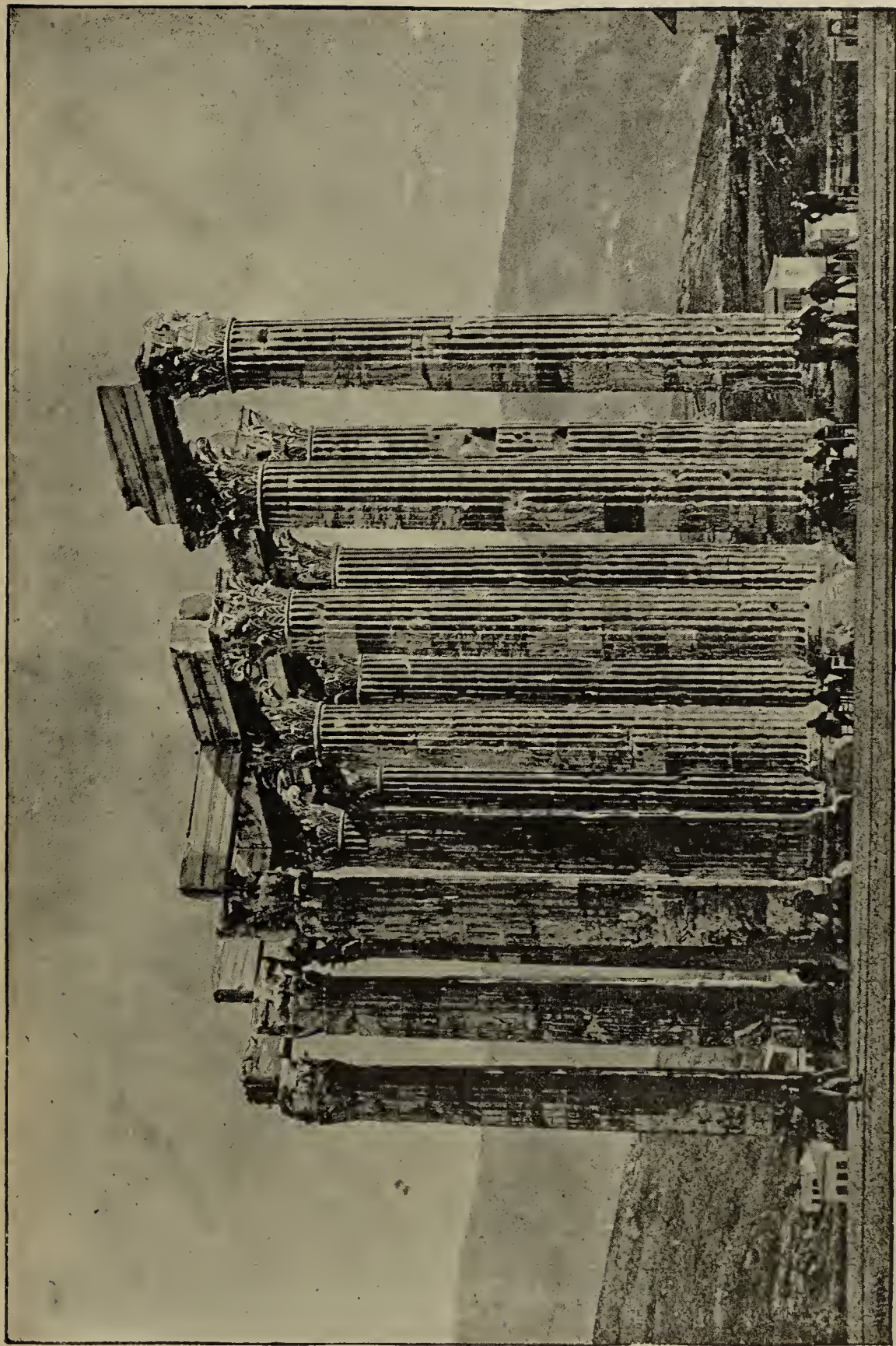
<sup>3</sup> ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΘΗΡΑΙΑ. Coin, in bronze, of the inhabitants of Hadrianotherae. Head of a bear.

<sup>4</sup> We still possess the discourse which Aristeides delivered on the day of the consecration of this temple, which took the place of that of Ephesus in the list of the Seven Wonders of the World.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Voyage en Galatie et en Bithynie*, by M. Georges Perrot. There is a manufacture in these chalets also, as in Switzerland, of a celebrated cheese.

<sup>6</sup> By the evidence of Spartianus and Athenaeus, he killed lions on several occasions, not in the circus and in a secure spot, but in the chase with all its perils. More than once his life was in danger; once he broke his thigh and collar bone (?).





THE OLYMPIEUM (BUILT BY HADRIAN) AT ATHENS.





In Cappadocia he bought a large number of slaves for the service of the camps, — a measure somewhat difficult to explain, for the legions were able to provide themselves everywhere with human merchandise. But the Cappadocians had been famous, as long ago as the best days of Athens, for their thick skulls as well as for their broad shoulders, and the country was nothing else than a vast slave-market. Was it at this time or in his former tour that he visited Pontus and established, with the kings of the neighboring countries, the relations of which we have made mention?<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to say. We must be satisfied with what Arrian<sup>2</sup> relates, that at Trapezus (Trebizonde) the Emperor wished to view the sea from the same spot where the Ten Thousand had uttered their cry of joy when they perceived the Euxine and the end of their dangers. On this excellent site and in memory both of Hadrian and the Greek army, a statue of the Emperor was erected with extended hand, pointing to the sea, and perhaps also to the temple of Mercury, which Hadrian gave to this commercial city, and the harbor which he built for its ships, until this time without shelter in the bad season.

We do not know how Hadrian occupied himself in the capital of Syria, a large, rich, and dissolute city, which had very speedily recovered from the recent earthquake, — a place where it was said to be impossible to keep a soldier three months without making him either effeminate or seditious. Antioch probably annoyed him, as later it did Julian, by the sarcasms of a vain, insolent population, equally incapable of being without a master and of obeying one. Hadrian, who had constructed or aided in the construction of many works of public utility in the city where he had assumed the purple, desired to reduce the limits of the district to which it served as metropolis,<sup>3</sup> by creating a second province of Syria, a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> *Peripl. Ponti Euxini*, l. He must have made gifts in Pontus, for Neocaesarea (Nicsara) and Amasia (Amasiah) took his name. Cerasus (Keresoun?) commenced its series of imperial medals with him, and Amisus (Eski-Samsun) struck many silver coins bearing his image.

<sup>3</sup> Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv. 160–173. Later the entire garrison was withdrawn from it: ἡ δὲ ἀφυλακτός τε καὶ στρατιῶτων ἐρημός ἐστι (Procop., *B. P.* i. 17). “He had made there,” says Malala (*Chronograph.* p. 362), “a public bath, an aqueduct bearing his name, and a theatre. By means of a strong dike he made a channel for the waters which were spread out in the ravines and lost to the city; this dike kept them in, in spite of their violence, and they were conducted near to the theatre, whence they were distributed into all parts of the

project which seems not to have been carried out till the time of Septimius Severus. At the sacred Castalian fountain at Daphne he had read his fortune; and after doing so, he closed this dangerous oracle.



COIN OF PALMYRA.<sup>1</sup>



COIN OF PETRA,  
STRUCK AT  
DAMASCUS.<sup>2</sup>



COIN OF GERASA.<sup>3</sup>



COIN OF PHILADELPHIA.<sup>4</sup>

From Antioch he went either to Heliopolis or to Damascus, the limit of the Syrian language and nationality; beyond was the desert, the Arab race, tent life and long troops of camel-drivers going to procure at Ctesiphon and on the Persian Gulf the commodities of Persia and India. The Roman world communicated with the Parthian empire by three routes; one, to the north, with different branches, followed by the armies, by cautious traders and by isolated travellers directing their course towards Upper Mesopotamia; the other two to the south, across the desert, terminating at nearly the same point, in the region where the Euphrates and Tigris unite to fall into the sea; this was the route of the caravans. When they returned from the Lower Euphrates, according as they desired to reach the Mediterranean at Aleppo, and go over into Asia Minor, or at Gaza to go down into Egypt, they went northwesterly towards Coele-Syria or to the west through the country of the Nabathaeans. On reaching the Roman frontier these two routes became united to another which, from Damascus to Petra, followed the bor-

der of the cultivated lands and the desert, so that the three roads formed an immense triangle, having its apex towards Characene,<sup>5</sup> on the Pasitigris, its base along the lowest slopes of Anti-Libanus, and its two sides across the great desert.

city. He also caused to be built, near the springs of Daphne, a temple sacred to the Muses, where these springs formed five spouting fountains."

<sup>1</sup> ΠΑΛΜΥΡΑ. Victory holding a balance above a cippus. Bronze coin.

<sup>2</sup> ΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ. Woman turreted, seated on a rock, the right hand extended, and holding ears of corn in the left. Bronze of Hadrian's reign.

<sup>3</sup> ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ (Artemis, Fortune of the inhabitants of Gerasa). Bust of Diana; below, the crescent moon. Bronze coin.

<sup>4</sup> ΤΥΧΗ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ (Fortune of Philadelphia). Turreted head, doubtless the personification of the city. Bronze.

<sup>5</sup> Charax, capital of this little state, is on nearly the same site as Bassorah.



In "the country of thirst" the merchants had planted neither towns nor villages; they journeyed rapidly through it, stopping only at the wells which dotted the road; but from time immemorial they had established their storehouses around the springs of Palmyra and in the impregnable stronghold of the rocks of Petra. Here the safe conducts bought from the Arabs were signed and merchandise was stored; here were collected provisions, beasts of



TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT GERASA.<sup>1</sup>

burden, and guides. The charge of a caravan was a difficult expedition which always brought honor, often profit, and the highest magistrates of these cities often accepted it.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions still celebrate their skill or their courage, and statues erected to them by those whose fortunes or lives they had guarded.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Album du Duc de Luynes*, pl. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Inscriptions Sémitiques* of M. le Comte M. de Vogüé, pp. 8 and 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ibid.* Nos. 4 and 5. The inscription No. 4 says: "This statue is of . . . Zebeida. It was put up by the merchants of the caravan who went down with him to Vologesias . . . for having deserved well of them." It is dated April, 147. The tomb of this Zebeida, a con-

Beyond these two oases, in the direction of the Euphrates, there was only the desert; but behind them there were great cities, — Baalbec, Damascus, Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, — whose ruins are among the finest that we know.

How came it that there were great cities like these flourishing on the extreme frontier of the Empire, at the edge of the desert?

The disasters of its neighbors had made the fortune of this region. Many Greek families, which Alexander and his successors had swept along in the wake of their armies into the heart of Asia, retreating before the reaction of the native races, had fallen back on Syria, the first land in which they found again anything of their language, customs, and religion.<sup>1</sup> Another human wave reached it from an opposite direction. In the time of the Herods, Palestine was very rich and Galilee covered with an abundant population. During the war of extermination carried on by Titus, a great multitude of the inhabitants who had dwelt on the right bank of the Jordan crossed over to the left bank, which belonged at that time to the king of the Nabathaeans, and went up as far as Damascus, Heliopolis, Palmyra, where we have proof of the existence of a Hebrew community.<sup>2</sup> At a period whose date is unknown, some Arab Himyarites, emigrants from Yemen, had established themselves in the Hauran and the Belkâ; of settled habits and living by agriculture, these Arabs protected the country against their nomadic brethren, and Bostra, their capital, became the granary of these regions.<sup>3</sup> What is called desert, at least on this side, is in fact only waste land. Let man come thither, and let the establishment of law and order strong enough to

temporary of Hadrian, still exists. (*Ibid.* p. 47). [A new taxing inscription of the year 137 has been found at Palmyra. (*Journal as.* for 1883). — Ed.]

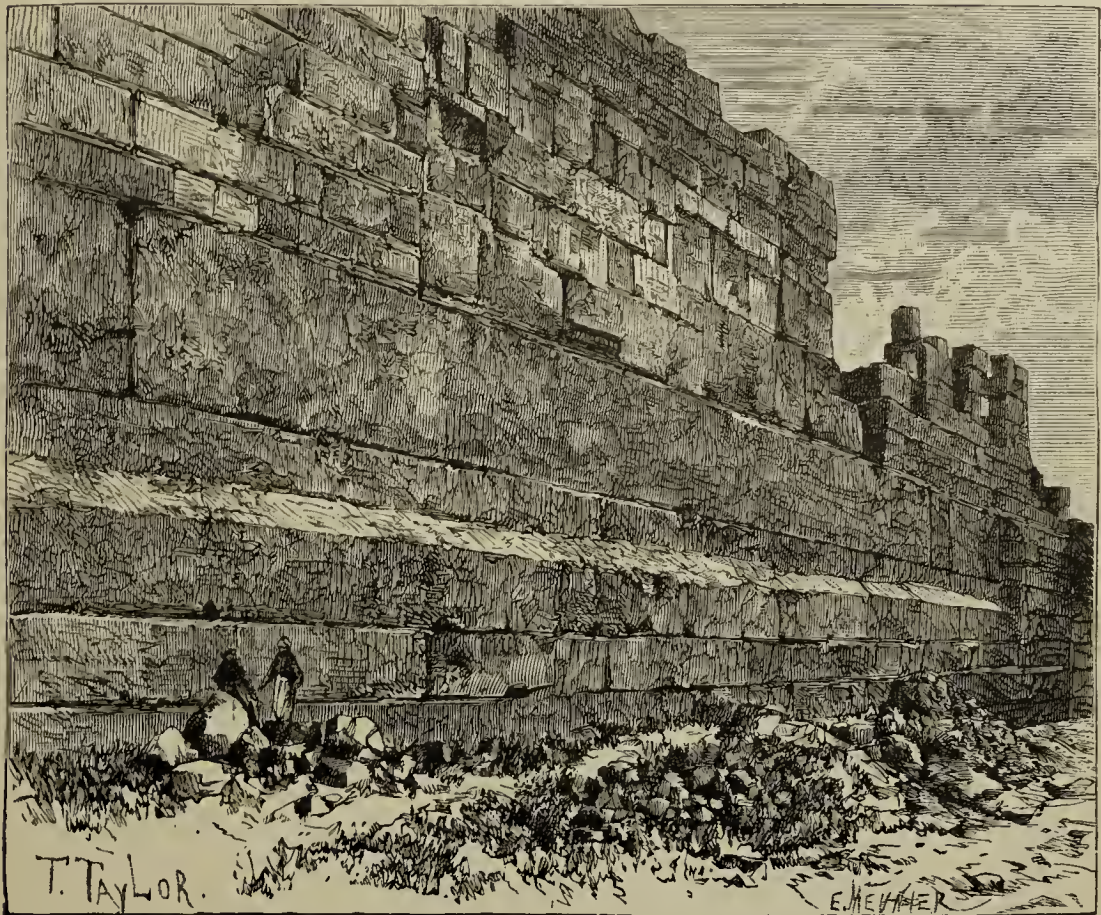
<sup>1</sup> In the first and second centuries of our era the use of Greek was common in Syria and the Arab region which adjoins Palestine and Egypt, as is proved by the Greek inscriptions of the stelae in the outer court of the temple of Jerusalem, by the language of the Arab whom Appian preserves (in the fragment of Appian found by Miller), by the Greek inscriptions of the medals of the kings of Characene, etc. Cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1872, pp. 129 and 437.

<sup>2</sup> Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, pp. 22, 224, and 402, and De Vogüé, *Inscriptions araméennes*, No. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, p. 107. He seems to place this establishment before Trajan's reign. M. Caussin de Perceval (*Hist. des Arabes*, i. 212) places it about the year 190 A.D.



keep in check the mountaineers and nomads give him security, and he will soon utilize, in these districts which can easily be



WALL CALLED SOLOMON'S OR CYCLOPEAN COURSES OF BAALBEC.

watered, even in the immediate neighborhood of the Dead Sea. the abundant streams which, under a burning sun, will cause the earth to produce rich harvests. After the blows struck by Corbulo and Trajan against the Parthians, after the strict order produced in Judaea by Titus, and in the province of Arabia by Cornelius Palma, a numerous population had flocked into these regions, and the good order established by Rome and Hadrian developed there a state of prosperity hitherto unknown.



LAUREATED BUST OF HADRIAN.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, these men, who later proved themselves in their Spanish colonies the most skilful cultivators in the world, always manifested a genius for trade. Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, Jews, devoted themselves with ardor to a commerce which the increasing

<sup>1</sup> ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΚΕΒΑΚΤΟC. The Emperor Hadrian Augustus.



taste for Oriental commodities rendered daily more active while it went on in complete security sheltered by "the Roman Peace." The vitality of the Empire showed itself energetically in this province, where both wealth and men were plenty, — exiles from Asiatic Greece and the proscribed of Palestine to people it, laborers and merchants to enrich it, soldiers to defend it.<sup>1</sup> Art came at the bidding of wealth, and produced the wonders of Baalbec and of Tadmor, where a single portico, supported by marble columns, was four thousand feet long. Thus it becomes clear how the sea of sand



REMAINS OF THE "TEMPLE OF THE SUN" AT BAALBEC.

gave to these cities the riches which the ocean gives to so many maritime cities: they were the ports of the desert.

This prosperity dated from remote antiquity, since some of these cities belonged to Biblical times, and the Roman architects erected their own buildings on colossal substructures of ancient date. At least, at Baalbec the walls of the temple of the Sun, which Hadrian commenced, and of Jupiter, which Severus constructed, have for their lowest courses stones of a very hard limestone, three of which are each  $65\frac{1}{2}$  feet long,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  high, and the same

<sup>1</sup> Under Alexander Severus, six legions, according to Dion Cassius, were in camp in this region: two in Syria, two in Judaea, one in Arabia, one in Phoenicia.

in width; and a fourth, still larger, remains in the quarry, a quarter of a mile distant.

Palmyra, which like Damascus had continued for a long time in a condition of an uncertain dependence on the Empire, had at



PALMYRA. REMAINS OF THE COLONNADE.

last, after the subjugation of Petra,<sup>1</sup> recognized the direct authority of Rome (105). Hadrian came thither in the year 130<sup>2</sup> with his legion of workmen. What he did there we do not know; but he doubtless left proofs of liberality in a city which had for his

<sup>1</sup> Before that time Palmyra had been obliged to furnish auxiliaries; thus Titus, in the war against the Jews, had had Palmyrene archers, and such are found among the troops cantoned in Dacia and Numidia.

<sup>2</sup> A bilingual inscription mentions a statue set up in April, 131, "to Male, who was registrar at the time of Hadrian's tour." Cf. De Vogüé, No. 16, and Waddington, No. 2,585.



general policy extreme importance, since it was the point of contact of two empires, and in providing it with the means of developing its commerce he furnished himself new guarantees of peace. On the route leading from Damascus to Palmyra, and from that city to the Euphrates, are to be found traces of about forty-two posts or castellated forts, at three hours' distance from one another.<sup>1</sup> The Roman soldiers could not have held all these posts; but we have proofs that they garrisoned some of those which marked the first part of this route; and as Trajan, coming to the East near the close of his life on account of a great war, had no leisure for taking precautions to secure peace, we believe them to have been the work of Hadrian when he went over the same road. A share also ought to be attributed to him in the magnificent constructions which Palmyra now began to build.<sup>2</sup> He gave her the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, with the title most envied by the provincial cities, that of colony;<sup>3</sup> and some considerable gifts most certainly accompanied these favors, for the city wished to be styled Hadrianopolis.<sup>4</sup>

The province of Arabia was of recent formation. Palma, who had conquered it in 105, and Trajan, who had organized it in 106, had not had time to see to everything. What remained of vital importance to do there Hadrian did, we know, since the medals of the province are dedicated *Restitutori Arabiae*. Gerasa commenced with him the series of its imperial coins, and Damascus struck some with the inscription, "To the god Hadrian," or with the double effigy of the Emperor and Empress. Trajan had made the fortune of Bostra by establishing a legion there. To acknowledge some act of liberality from Hadrian, without exhibiting a too lively ingratitude towards his predecessor, the city ceased for a time

<sup>1</sup> The Prussian consul at Damascus states that he had this information from Sheik Muhammed-ibn-Dûhi. Cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (1860), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rob. Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*; these monuments have all the marks of the architecture of the Antonines.

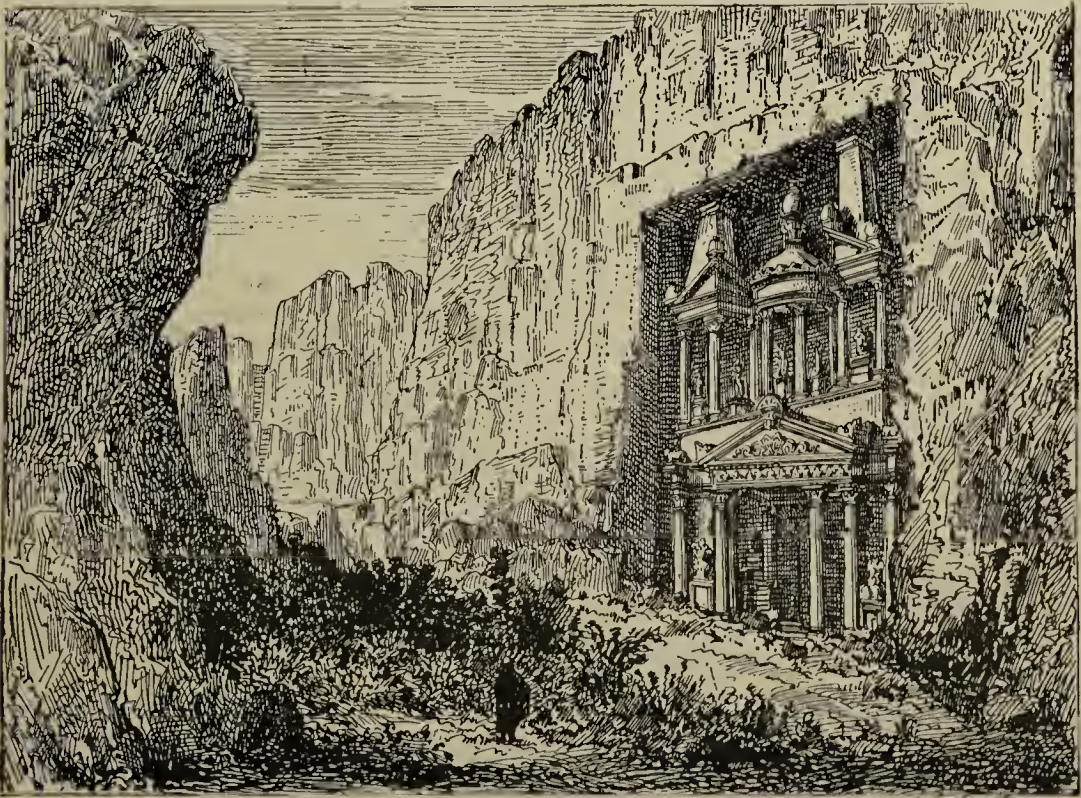
<sup>3</sup> The name of Aurelius, borne by several strategi of Palmyra, has caused all these benefits to be ascribed to Antoninus, who, before his accession, was called Titus Aurelius Fulvus; the name taken by the city renders the designation of Hadrian more probable. In a neighboring village there has been found a *naos* dedicated to Baalsamin . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας . . . Ἀδριανῶ (De Vogüé, *Inscr. aram.* p. 50).

<sup>4</sup> Ἀδριανὴ Παλμυρα (*C. I. G.* Nos. 4,482 and 6,015).

inscribing on its coins the name of its second founder, but did not replace it by that of the new Emperor. In the midst of so much base adulation, this restrained homage was almost dignified. Hadrian certainly gave attention to the old caravan-road from Damascus to Petra. His soldiers, whom he kept always at work, constructed in different directions military roads, the remains of which may still be seen even on the plateau of Moab,<sup>1</sup> and the capital of Hauran became the centre of an extensive commerce, which carried to Damascus the dates of Hedjaz and the perfumes of Yemen ;



THE GOD  
HADRIAN.<sup>2</sup>



TOMB AT PETRA.<sup>3</sup>

into Arabia, the corn and raisins of the Jordan valley and the stuffs of Asia Minor ; to the sea-port towns of the Mediterranean, the Eastern commodities, which its caravans brought from the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> ΘΕΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC (the god Hadrian). Middle-sized bronze of Damascus.

<sup>3</sup> M. Hittorf believes that the Pompeian painting on p. 377 has served as a design for a tomb two stories high at Petra. MM. de Laborde, Linant, Burckhardt, and Banks have seen this colossal monument, which the Arabs call Karzr Faraoum, "Pharaoh's palace," a structure higher than the Arc de l'Étoile at Paris. Cf. *Revue Archéol.* 1862, vol. vi. 2d part, p. 110.



emporiums of the Lower Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> Near the Dead Sea the attention of the imperial traveller, who would neglect no point of interest in nature or in art, must have been attracted by the sombre accounts current in respect to this strange lake of heavy bitter waters, in which no living creature can exist, and into which Vespasian had caused strangled criminals to be thrown to ascertain whether it were true that dead bodies would float on its surface. But it was not given, even to the most intelligent of Emperors, to find, in visiting these places, the interest which the humblest modern traveller finds there, when by the torch of recent science he sees the lofty summits of Lebanon covered with eternal snows, and from its glaciers mighty streams descending;<sup>2</sup> in Hauran, mountains shaken by the force of subterraneous fires, and the plain scourged by an internal tempest thrown up like a stormy sea;<sup>3</sup> finally, along a line of eight hundred leagues, from Bab-el-Mandeb to the sources of the Jordan, the land rent asunder, and in the southern part of the immense fissure<sup>4</sup> the Indian Ocean rushing in between Africa and Asia, while the waters of the north, arrested by a transverse elevation of the ground,<sup>5</sup> are massed in the hollow of the Dead Sea, the deepest depression of the three continents. No man had at that time written this formidable page of the earth's history, and Hadrian, on the spot, heard men-

<sup>1</sup> Caussin de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 319.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lartet believes he has found moraines and striæ made by ice in motion over the rocks of the mountains in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia Petraea. At present Lebanon has snow only in the winter.

<sup>3</sup> All Hauran is covered with craters, cones, and immense rivers of lava broken into a thousand shapes. "One might call them waves raised by a tempest" (Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran*, p. 63). On the volcanic nature of this region, cf. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*.

<sup>4</sup> The ancients had already called by the name of *Hollow Syria* the northern part of the vast furrow stretching from Lebanon to the Red Sea. The middle portion has received from the Arabs the name of *El-Ghor*, "the hollow valley," of which the Dead Sea, almost equalling the Lake of Geneva in area, marks the lowest point, 1,288 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, according to late explorations. See Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, pp. 16, 35, and 236. The evaporation, extremely rapid at the bottom of this depression, removes in twenty-four hours one half inch of water. So the Jordan, which in its freshets pours in 212,000,000 cubic feet daily, cannot raise the level. Yet the mountains surrounding it bear traces of a very much higher level, doubtless at the period when Lebanon had glaciers. According to the same geologist, the level of Lake Tiberias is about seven hundred feet below the Mediterranean; but on the side of the hills surrounding it are seen pebbles at a height which proves that the lake had formerly the same level as the Mediterranean.

<sup>5</sup> The watershed which separates the basins of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea seems to be about 525 feet above the level of the ocean.

tion only of some miserable cities, destroyed by the anger of heaven. The legend, as is often the case, was less grand than the true history.

From the southern point of the Dead Sea Hadrian reached the Wady-el-Arabah, "the waterless stream," which extends as



POMPEIAN PAINTING.<sup>1</sup>

far as the Red Sea. After a thirty hours' march he arrived in the vicinity of Mount Hor—whose summit, according to the biblical account which the Mussulmans have preserved, is the site of Aaron's tomb—and, through a narrow gorge which the sun never penetrates, he entered the capital of the Nabathaeans. Since Strabo's time there were at Petra many Romans who had come to establish themselves among this people, through whose hands

<sup>1</sup> This painting is believed to have furnished a suggestion to the architect of Petra.



passed a large part of the commerce of the Lower Euphrates and of India with Egypt. Here and there we still find the remains



HATHOR, THE EGYPTIAN  
VENUS.<sup>3</sup>

of a Roman road which united Palestine to this city, and one of its monuments reminds us of an elegant Pompeian painting. Some of these must surely date from Hadrian's visit, for, in token of her grateful acknowledgment, Petra took this Emperor's name, and began with him her series of imperial coins.<sup>1</sup>

In Palestine, Hadrian gave a greater impetus to the works of the Roman colony and the temples which he had founded at Jerusalem, — a circumstance which not long after caused a formidable insurrection to break out.

He entered Egypt by way of Pelusium,<sup>2</sup> where he did honor to Pompey's memory by raising a funeral monument to the man who had had temples, but no tomb. The whole valley of the Nile had just been greatly agitated.<sup>4</sup> Apis had manifested himself again after long years of absence. The strange god was not easy to find, for his worshippers required him to prove his divinity by showing a white mark of crescent shape on his forehead, on his back the figure of an eagle, under his tongue the form of a scarabaeus, — requirements which he was unable to satisfy without a little priestly assistance and a good deal of popular credulity. There were other conditions of a supernatural sort which it was more difficult to verify: Apis must be born of a heifer made fruitful by a flash of lightning from heaven. Thanks to these marvels, the god was in great honor throughout the whole of Egypt. The cities had taken up arms against each other for his possession; even Alexandria, the Greek city, sharing in the quarrel. Hadrian was in Gaul at the time of these disorders; he wisely avoided interference with them, and left them to abate by themselves; at his arrival, peace had

<sup>1</sup> Ἀδριανὴ Πέτρα μητρόπολις (*C. I. G.* No. 4,667). There seems to me no doubt that Hadrian visited the places we have enumerated; but it is not certain in what order he took them.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *peragrata Arabia, Pelusium venit* (*Spart., Hadr.* 13).

<sup>3</sup> Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* xv.

been long re-established, the god shut up in his temple, and workmen were employed in quarrying his tomb, which a Frenchman has brought to light in the Serapeium, under the hill of Sakkara.<sup>1</sup>

Egypt seems to have given very moderate pleasure to this imperial virtuoso. She had lost her vigorous religious and national life; art even had reached the last stage of decadence, as the small temple erected in Nerva's honor near the cataract of



RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF PHILOE, NEAR THE CATARACT OF SYENE (ASSOUAN).

Syene bears witness. An image of Hathor, which is ascribed to Hadrian's time, is neither Greek nor Egyptian; it has neither the grace of the statues of Ionia nor the imposing majesty of the Pharaonic works. Yet, like the priestly mummies with their masks of gold, Egypt glittered with a mysterious splendor made up of past glories and present wealth. As yet no invasion had violated her temples or overturned the monuments of her kings; the Ptolemies had added the works of Greek art to those of the Pharaohs, and the country was the centre of an immense commerce,

<sup>1</sup> M. Mariette. He discovered it with many others, among which was that of the last Apis. The religious revolution which killed the god has left his tomb — a monolith weighing sixty-six tons — half-way from the *cella* intended to hold it.



the focus of an intense activity. Minds were at work there as well as hands; all the commodities of the East passed through Alexandria; all the philosophic and religious ideas of the world made themselves heard there. This din wearied the Emperor, who loved the serenity of Athenian life, living in the tranquil enjoyment of those masterpieces of art and thought which, simply by their beauty, gently raised the soul towards higher spheres. Alexandria, a raging furnace wherein everything was mixed and fused, misshapen scoriae and precious metal, caused Hadrian to sigh for those *templa serena* of Greece, whence the sage looked out tranquilly upon the world.<sup>1</sup>

Another crime in the eyes of the artist-Emperor: Alexandria was ugly. Gloomily situated on a desolate sandy shore, between a salt lake and the sea, just where the desert terminates, Alexandria possessed neither the grace of the Greek cities, where nature so greatly enhanced the value of the works of man, nor the charm of Oriental cities, which are sometimes, like Cairo of the present day, incomparable in their rags. Partly destroyed during the great Jewish insurrection of the last days of Trajan, it had doubtless not as yet arisen from its ruins, although Hadrian had undertaken a large share of the expenditure;<sup>2</sup> and the fine street of Canopus, in spite of or because of its regularity, the palace of the kings, with its immense area,<sup>3</sup> the Pharos, beautiful only to the sailor's eye,<sup>4</sup> were not sufficient to arouse an admiration satiated with the marvels of Greek art.

As the friend of philosophers, Hadrian at first felt pleasure in visiting the Library and Museum and in conversing with the learned men attracted by these famous schools. He proposed questions to them and discussed with them; but finding they possessed only a confused and empty learning, he paved the way

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Nigrinus* of Lucian a picture of Athenian life, and in Aulus Gellius (xvii. 8) the simplicity of manners which prevailed there. The philosopher Taurus entertained his pupils in the evening, Aulus Gellius among the rest, with a dish of lentils and some slices of cucumber.

<sup>2</sup> Saint Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 118: *Hadrianus Alexandriam a Romanis subversam publicis instauravit impensis.*

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XVII. i. 8.

<sup>4</sup> M. E. Allard, civil engineer, has made, in the great work entitled *Les Travaux publics de la France*, a learned study of the ancient lighthouses. He reduces the height of that of Alexandria to 262 feet, and the range of its light to about 26 miles.

for the destruction of the ancient institution, creating sinecures in it by the bestowal on absentees of "the Egyptian pension,"<sup>1</sup> while he had endowed the schools of Athens and Asia Minor with chairs<sup>2</sup> which kept up their activity. It was not that he felt any uneasiness at the liberty enjoyed in the Alexandrian schools. The Emperors had retained a functionary whom the Ptolemies had intrusted with the duty of restraining all exuberance, the epistolographer, a sort of minister of religion and literature. Thus Timon calls the Museum "the cage of the Muses," meaning by that the precious birds kept in this royal aviary were not allowed



SABINA.

COIN OF ALEXANDRIA.<sup>3</sup>

THE LIGHTHOUSE.

COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF  
HADRIAN'S VISIT TO EGYPT.<sup>4</sup>

to sing whatever song they liked.<sup>5</sup> In fact, this literature and these philosophies were quite inoffensive. The subtleties of grammar and etymology were the chief items of interest. These scholars discussed ancient texts, not the Emperor's authority; they gave dissertations on metaphysical entities, but not on the best form of government; they lived in the mythological times much more than in the present period; and the boldest of them limited his audacity to an attempt at saving paganism by explaining it allegorically. Magic and theosophy had their home in the Alexandrian schools; gnosticism flourished there; Egyptian opinions were like streams with ill-defined banks, which extend afar and mingle their muddy waters.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν σίτησιν.

<sup>2</sup> Θρόνοι (Matter, *l'École d'Alex.* p. 285).

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, the Empress Sabina: CABINA CEBACTH; on the reverse, Γ. ΕΝΝΕΑ ΚΔ. The lighthouse surmounted by a figure standing, placed between two tritons sounding the buccina. Bronze.

<sup>4</sup> Bronze struck at Alexandria.

<sup>5</sup> Letronne, *Inscrip. d'Égypte*, i. 361: . . . Μουσέων τάλαρος . . . πολυτιμώτατοι ὄρνιθες (Athenaeus, i. p. 22 d). Timon lived under Philadelphus.

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that one distinguished scholar, Ptolemy, was then at Alexandria; at least he was there nine years later.



Hadrian was probably even less pleased with Memphis, for the Greek kings had in no way respected the Pharaonic capital, and for a long while its edifices had been used to build those of Alexandria.

In seeing, not long ago, on the site of this city, heaps of crumbling bricks, and a forest of palm-trees waving their graceful heads where once stood the palaces of the Egyptian kings, I asked myself whether Memphis had ever employed for private dwellings any other material than bricks dried in the sun.

ANTINOUS DEIFIED.<sup>1</sup>HEAD OF ANTINOUS, ON A BRONZE MEDALLION  
STRUCK AT SMYRNA.

This people dwelt then as now, in mud houses, but they built their temples and tombs to last for ever.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that Hadrian was struck by the gloomy and religious grandeur of the great structures of Upper Egypt. In his villa at Tibur, where it was his pleasure to have a representation of the finest monuments which he had seen during his travels, as a souvenir of Egypt there was only the Canopus, a long basin intended for nautical games, with nothing Egyptian about it except a little temple of Serapis built at one end of it, and a few statues brought from the banks of the Nile, or copied from those of the Pharaohs.

During Hadrian's stay in Egypt, Antinous was drowned<sup>3</sup> in the Nile, either by accident, or making a voluntary sacrifice of

<sup>1</sup> Coin with a Greek inscription signifying Hostilius Marcus, priest of Antinous.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the tombs of Memphis exist at Sakkara; but the temples have disappeared. As early as Strabo's time Memphis was already in a state of decay, and it was drawn from as from a quarry. We have bronze coins commemorative of Hadrian's visit. On one is represented the city of Alexandria going out to meet the Emperor seated in a quadriga; another represents him sailing on the Nile.

<sup>3</sup> This is the account that Hadrian gives of it, who founded a city, Antinopolis, near the place where his favorite died, October 30, 130, at Cheykh-Abâdeh, in the province of Minyeh.



ANTINOUS AS BACCHUS. STATUE FOUND AT THE VILLA HADRIANA  
(VATICAN, ROTUNDA, NO. 540).





his life to his master because some god had declared this to be necessary for the Emperor's safety. If the latter version be correct, it would seem this god spoke in the interests of morality; for Hadrian's affection was scandalous, and his grief shameful. He made a god of Antinous; and the latter's image was set up in the cities of Asia, where the suicidal divinity returned oracular responses such as Hadrian was pleased to compose, — a more cutting satire on paganism than that of Lucian, rude warfare as that poet not long after made against the gods. It is well to note that this worship of masculine beauty belongs exclusively to the Hellenic East. Although it is true that at Rome and in its environs many busts and statues of Antinous have been found, we have but one Latin inscription in his honor, and no coin of Roman make bears his name.<sup>1</sup>

This apotheosis of Greek vice, a few fine statues of the newly-made god, repeating the types of Bacchus and Apollo, some inscriptions on the Colossus of Memnon, and the foundation of Antinopolis, — which a road furnished with watering-places, stations, and fortified posts connected with the ports of the Red Sea,<sup>2</sup> — are all that is left to commemorate Hadrian's stay in Egypt. There would be something more, if the mosaic of Palestrina represented his tour in this country; but we cannot accept this explanation of it.<sup>3</sup> But, on the other hand, I admit the authenticity of the Emperor's letter to Servianus. The phraseology of it, it is true, is not imperial; but Hadrian liked to laugh and jest. "Very

Dion asserts that Antinous was immolated in sacrifice as a voluntary victim (lxi. 12). The latter more tragical version was naturally that which circulated most freely. Antinopolis was built and organized as a Greek city. The tomb of the favorite, worthy of those of the ancient kings, was adorned by a sphinx and obelisks.

<sup>1</sup> Orelli, No. 823.

<sup>2</sup> This route, called *Via Hadriana*, going from Antinopolis to Myos Hormos across the desert, then along the coast to Berenice, was finished in 137, according to an inscription found by M. Mariette and explained by M. Miller, *Revue archéol.* of 1870, p. 313. At Djebel-Dokhan, where are the celebrated quarries of porphyry and red granite, in a valley now uninhabitable, there are seen the ruins of a fortified city, and a temple begun, but not finished, which bears a Greek inscription of Hadrian's time (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 148).

<sup>3</sup> This statement of the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* xxx. 503), disputed by Winckelmann (*Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. chap. v. sect. 14), is abandoned, and deservedly so; see Maspéro, *Biblioth. de l'École des hautes Études*, xxxv. 50. But nothing proves that Hadrian's tour in Egypt did not bring into fashion the reproduction of Egyptian scenes taken by hazard from some Egyptian monuments by a travelling artist, or imagined and grouped by him, to give some idea of the strange country where Hadrian had lately sojourned.



dear Servianus, I well know this Egypt which you have been wont to praise so highly, this inconstant, fickle people, who at the least rumor become excited and run together, this seditious race, insolent and vain. Their capital is rich; everything abounds there, and no one is idle. Some blow glass; others make paper or weave flax; each man has his trade and works at it, even the gouty and blind. The god of all — Christians, Jews, and the rest — is gain. It should not be so in this city, which by its magnitude deserves to hold the first place in Egypt. I have done for it all it has desired of me. I have restored its ancient privileges; I have given it new ones. While I was present, there was nothing but gratitude. Hardly had I left the city, when they insulted my son Verus, and you know, I think, all their talk respecting Antinous.”<sup>1</sup>

This is the letter of an artist whom the din of trade wearies, or of an Emperor whom liberty of speech irritates; probably it is the utterance of both. At all events, it seems that Hadrian was struck by nothing else in Egypt except the turbulence of the Alexandrians; but we shall remember, to the honor of his memory, that when insulted by the people of Antioch and scoffed at by those of Alexandria, he was satisfied with answering the former by withdrawing from them a title, the latter by leaving a portrait of them whose fidelity all evidence attests. Theodosius will be less patient at Thessalonica.

The Empress Sabina, who seems to have accompanied Hadrian in many of his travels, certainly was with him in Egypt, and ascended the Nile at least as far as Thebes, to see the statue of Memnon, the son of Aurora, who every morning saluted his mother's return by a melodious sound. We learn from “a blue-stocking of the period,”<sup>2</sup> the poetess Balbilla, that the god, a bad courtier, seemed at first not to appreciate the honor done him, troubling himself but little about “the angry countenance of the Empress;” and Sabina had to pay him two visits before he deigned to reply. This negligence has been cruelly visited upon him. Science, brutal

<sup>1</sup> Vopiscus (*Saturn.* 8) declares he took this letter from the books of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian, and I see no reason for doubting its authenticity. On the Alexandrians, cf. Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxii., and Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. 350 *et seq.* Balbilla celebrated this visit by three verses, which she caused to be carved on the leg of the colossus; and as she has dated them, we know that Sabina's two visits took place on the 20th and 21st of November, 130.

towards the gods, has slain the son of Aurora, and in place of the graceful legend has given us a purely natural phenomenon: the sound arose from the vibrations which the first rays of the sun caused as they expelled the humidity with which the rock had become saturated during the night. A similar sound is produced in the granite monuments of Karnac; Von Humboldt has heard it in those of South America; and in certain atmospheric conditions which induce rapid evaporation there can be heard everywhere, on the seashore, or in the neighborhood of vast forests, those singular noises which country people call "the forest song."<sup>1</sup>

We have thus reached the end of these long travels without having been able to state accurately either their order or date;<sup>2</sup> but it is their character which we have especially wished to point out, and this character is indicated by the facts thus brought together. We have now reason to say that Hadrian's solicitude, his reforms, his building projects, his benefactions, extended to the whole Empire; for we have coins which prove his passage through twenty-five provinces, and his benefactions in twelve:<sup>3</sup> *Restitutori orbis terrarum*.



HADRIAN, RESTORER OF  
THE WORLD (LARGE  
BRONZE).

The offices which he allowed himself to accept in several towns have the same character of condescension towards his subjects. Thus he became praetor of Etruria, dictator, aedile, and duumvir in certain of the Italian cities,<sup>4</sup> demarch at Naples, archon at Athens, quinquennial at Italica and Hadria. It will be said that these offices were but honorary titles, conferred through flattery. I grant this, although the Emperor fulfilled their duties by proxy; but certainly they would never have been offered to an

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent Memoir of Letronne on *The Vocal Statue of Memnon*; also Tyndall's work on *Sound*.

<sup>2</sup> Hadrian, on his return from Egypt, must have stopped in 132 in Palestine, where the great insurrection broke out which we shall relate farther on.

<sup>3</sup> These are the twelve provinces or regions which caused medals to be struck with the inscription *Restitutori*; namely, Achaia, Africa, Arabia, Asia, Bithynia, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Libya, Macedonia, Phrygia, and Sicily. On others may be read even *Restitutori* or *Locupletori orbis terrarum*. Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., Hadrian, *passim* from 445 to 1,088.

<sup>4</sup> The praetorship of Etruria was a provincial priesthood. The magistrates of some Italian towns had kept the name of dictators.

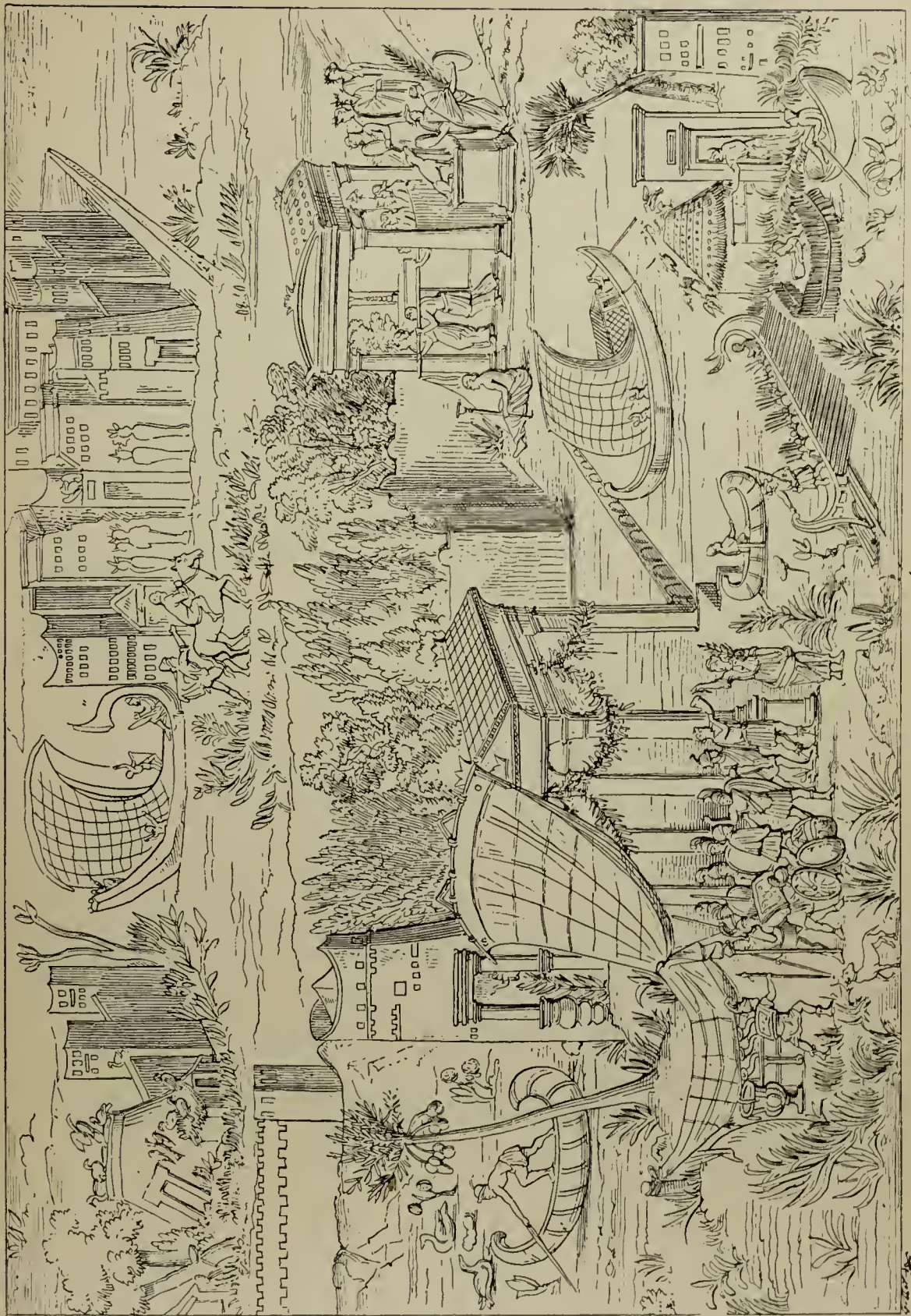


Emperor who conceived of the whole Empire as contained within the walls of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Municipal government owes him also an improvement which we have preserved,—the right for cities to receive directly, and no longer, as under Trajan, in trust, legacies and donations. Roman customs being taken into account, this was to give them an abundant source of revenue.

In the year 134 Hadrian returned to Italy, and never left it again. There is no need to say that Rome and the peninsula profited, as well as the provincial towns, by his taste for building.<sup>2</sup> He repaired an incalculable number of buildings without effacing the names of the founders,—a thing which, for the Romans, was the height of modesty; he built for himself, on the right bank of the Tiber, an immense tomb, which has become the Castle of St. Angelo, and the bridge which still connects this fortress to the city is his work. Finally he desired to have his villa at Tibur remind him of the edifices and the spots which he had most admired during his travels: the Lycieum, the Academy, the Prytanieum, the Poecile, certain temples and libraries, a theatre, even the Elysian Fields and Tartarus. It was like a museum of the world: the design of a collector rather than an artist, for many of the objects were necessarily trivial. This valley of Tempe, with its artificial mountains, these monuments reduced to humble proportions and reconstructed far from the material and historic surroundings for which they had been made, would have been an error of taste, if Hadrian, old and weary, had sought for anything else in his villa than the legitimate pleasure of finding at every step some object to awaken in his mind the recollection of his

<sup>1</sup> See other examples cited in the *Index of Henzen*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Spartianus informs us that he made an outflow for the waters of Lake Fucinus, or, more probably, that he set right again the insufficient outlet dug by Claudius. According to Pausanias, he had a harbor made at the ancient Sybaris. An inscription found at Montepulciano assigns to him the restoration of the *Via Cassia* from Chiusi to Florence: *Viam Cassiam vetustate collapsam a Clusinorum finibus Florentiam perduxit millia passuum xxci.* (Gruter, clvi. 2). Another inscription, discovered near Nîce, recalls the construction of another road: *Viam Juliam Aug. a flumine Trebia quae vetustate interciderat sua pecunia restituit* (Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* cexxxi. 5); likewise at Suessa: *Viam Suessanis municipibus sua pecunia fecit* (Gruter, eli. 3). At Cupra Maritima he had rebuilt the temple of the goddess of the place: *Munificentia sua templum deae Cuprae restituit* (Orelli, No. 1,852). The inhabitants of Feruli, in the Sabine country (Muratori, cexxxiii. 4), those of Ostia (Gruter, cexlix. 7), of Tiano (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 3,990), of Sorrento (*ibid.* No. 2,112), etc., have left us inscriptions in which they thank Hadrian for his benefits towards their towns.

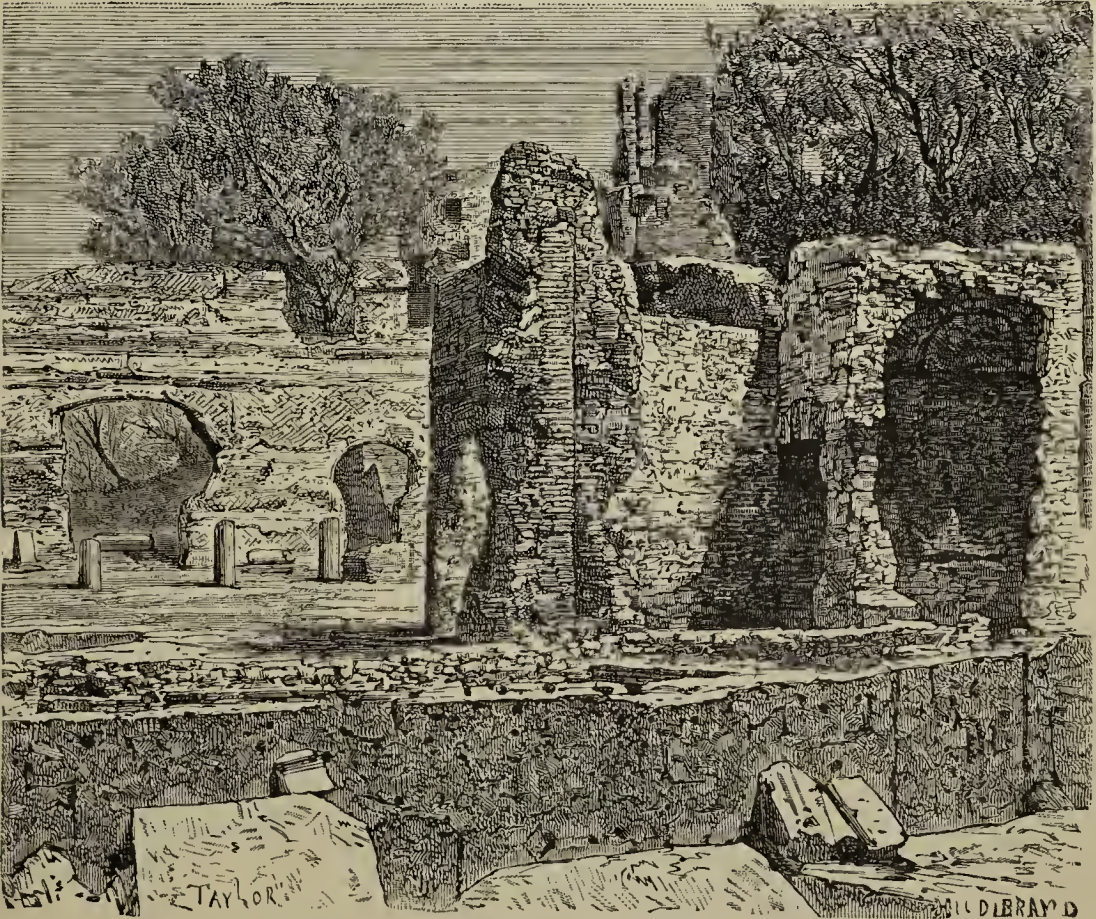


FRAGMENT OF THE MOSAIC OF PALESTRINA, THOUGHT TO BE IN COMMEMORATION OF HADRIAN'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT  
AT THE TIME OF THE INUNDATION.





best years. The Romans did great things, but often had a taste for little ones. Read the description that the younger Pliny gives us of the gardens of one of his country houses. What childishness! And at Pompeii, how many little fountains and little grottos of rock-work and shells, little gardens, and rivulets with the high-sounding name of Euripus! In this respect Hadrian was especially Roman, and I do not doubt that there were in his villa some very childish



A PART OF THE RUINS OF THE VILLA HADRIANA.

imitations of famous buildings, and arrangements of the ground to form sites and celebrated streams, where, for instance, a thread of water would represent the Peneus. Let us not the less be thankful for a fancy to which we owe the statues, bas-reliefs, and mosaics discovered in those excavations which for the last two hundred years have been made in this villa.<sup>1</sup> whose ruins cover a space three miles long. Many precious objects in the

<sup>1</sup> Respecting Hadrian's Villa, see Boissier, *Promenades archéol.*, the whole of chap. iv.



museums of Rome, as well as the Barberini obelisk, which now adorns the promenade of the Pincio,<sup>1</sup> have been taken from this



DRUNKEN CENTAUR, IN BIGIO MORATO, FOUND IN THE VILLA HADRIANA.<sup>2</sup>

rich mine; and to the European flora has been added a quantity of exotic plants which Hadrian sowed in his gardens at Tibur.<sup>3</sup>

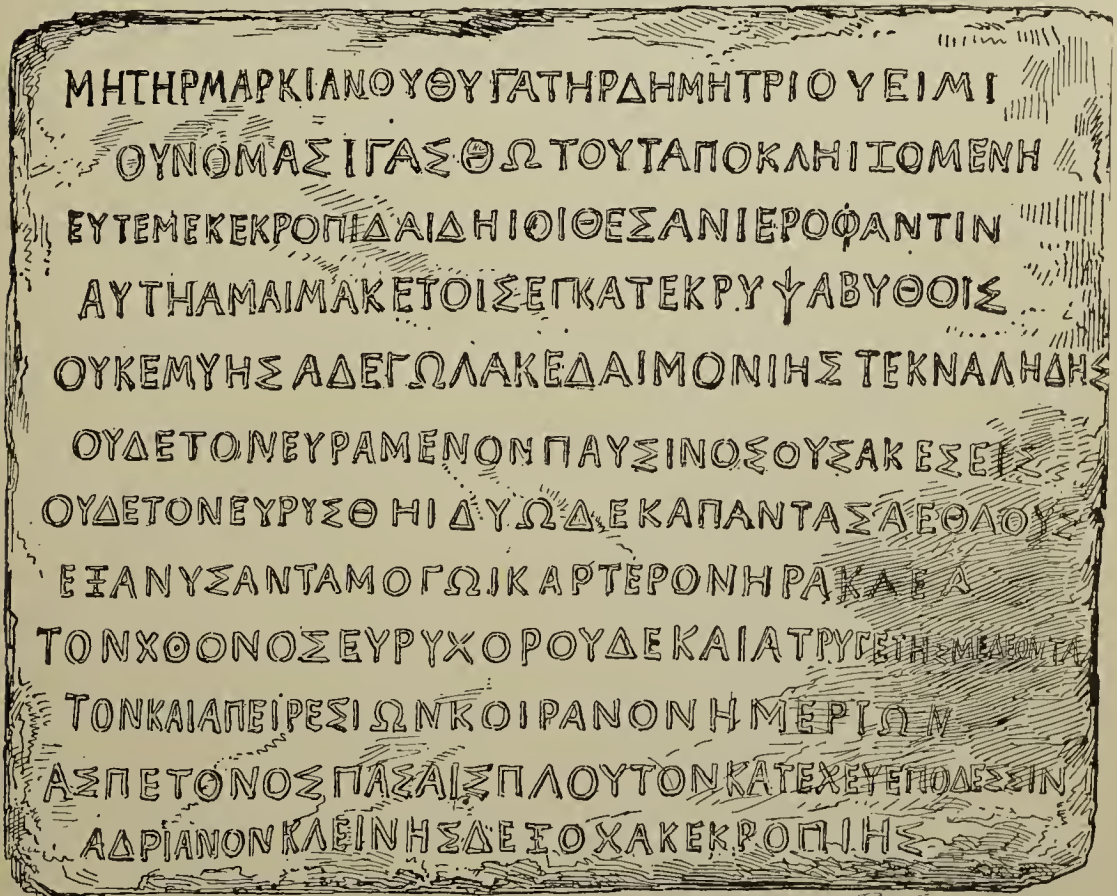
So many years passed by this Emperor at a distance from his

<sup>1</sup> This obelisk was probably brought to Rome as early as the time of Elagabalus, to adorn the spina of the *Horti Variiani* circus, where it was found at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Another Centaur, also the work of Aristaeus and Papias, has been found in Hadrian's Villa. They are both in the Museum of the Capitol, Salon, Nos. 2 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> Hadrian must have begun to build his Villa in 123 or 124 (Deseemet, *Inscr. doliaires*, p. 135).

capital, so many works completed in Italy and the provinces at his own expense or after his example, prove three things of importance, — the wealth of the cities, able to execute so many and so great works of utility or adornment; the sound state of the public finances, for the government bore a large share in these expenses; and, lastly, the tranquillity of the Empire, where all



INSCRIPTION COMMEMORATIVE OF HADRIAN'S INITIATION INTO THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.<sup>1</sup>

went on automatically, without dangerous stoppage or violent shock, whether Hadrian were sailing on the Nile or hunting in the mountains of Caledonia.

This order depended on the strict discipline of the legions, upon the spirit of justice, which animated, as we shall shortly see, the general administration, and also on the activity resulting from public works, which, occupying many hands, drove away hunger, that bad adviser (*malesuada fames*). As we have found in the foreign policy of Hadrian a principle of government, — an

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Louvre. Cf. note 2, p. 390.



armed peace; so do we find another for his internal policy, — the extension of public works. As regards the former, he was not in agreement with his predecessor; in the latter, he imitated him. Both were great builders, not solely from personal taste, but following a rule of conduct upon which they acted steadily and on which the nations reckoned. In the dedication of an Egyptian temple these words may be read: "For the welfare of the Emperor Hadrian . . . and for the success of the works ordered by him."<sup>1</sup> No doubt the spectacle of this unceasing activity singularly impressed men's minds; for we find its echo in a form of prayer addressed to the gods, and even in an inscription of the hierophant of Eleusis: "I, the high priestess, have initiated the master of the world, . . . him who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the world."<sup>2</sup> When, therefore, Eutropius said of these Emperors that "they covered the earth with their buildings," this writer pointed out a grand political idea, and not a puerile satisfaction of vanity.

### III. — ADMINISTRATION.

THE human race had never yet known a like state of prosperity. And this wealth, created by the industry or the commerce of the world, was enjoyed with security; for the terrible law of high treason no longer menaced the lives or fortunes of the rich," and

<sup>1</sup> Letronne (*Inscr. d'Égypte*, No. 16) takes the words τὰ ἔργα in the wide sense in which we use them. The words of Vespasian quoted on p. 144 show that these great public works formed a well-determined system of imperial policy.

<sup>2</sup> Villosion, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xvii. 330. This is a translation of the inscription (given on p. 389): "I, the mother of Marcimus, the daughter of Demetrius, shall conceal my name. Separated from the crowd of mortals since the moment when the sons of Cecrops appointed me to be high priestess of Ceres, I have buried my name in the darkness of the profound abyss which incloses the impenetrable mysteries. No, it is not the sons of the Spartan Leda whom I have initiated, nor the inventor of those health-giving remedies which triumph over death, nor that valiant Hercules who acquitted himself with so much toil of the twelve labors imposed on him by Eurystheus. He whom I have initiated is the sovereign of land and sea, the ruler whose vast empire extends over so many nations, he who has poured a stream of gold over all the cities of the world, and principally over the famous land of Cecrops, — I mean the Emperor Hadrian." She will not divulge her name because, being now hierophant, she had only her official title. Thus nuns lose their family name on entering a convent.

<sup>3</sup> *Majestatis crimina non admisit* (Spart., *Hadri.* 17).

the officials were held strictly to their duty. No longer ago than the early years of Trajan's reign the senate-house had rung with the accusations which deputies from Baetica, Africa, and Bithynia had brought before the Senate. Monstrous instances of extortion had been seen again; the liberty, even the life, of Roman knights sold at a price. With an Emperor who three or four times made the circuit of the Empire, staying long enough in each province to understand everything, and having also the desire to know all, such crimes became no longer possible. Some executions, however, had taken place; some provincial governors and treasury officers or procurators had been condemned. When the victims of these unfaithful magistrates were silent from fear, Hadrian himself called forth accusers.<sup>2</sup>

HADRIAN TREADING A PRISONER UNDER FOOT.<sup>1</sup>

Prevention is better than cure. Hadrian laid down certain invariable rules for the governors of provinces. Laws and edicts, the senatus-consulta, the rescripts of the Emperors, had formed a chaos of decisions often contradictory to each other, some of which besides applied only to particular cases or to certain provinces. By the Emperor's order, the praetor Salvius Julianus, one of the

<sup>1</sup> Mutilated statue found in Crete and conveyed to the museum of the Old Seraglio at Constantinople in 1870 (*Gazette archéol.* 1880, pl. 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Circumiens provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se crederetur immittere* (Spart., *Had.* 13). See in the *Digest*, xxxix. 4, sect. 1, the rescript on the commodities which the governors caused to be bought for their use.



jurisconsults whose works were as useful to the editors of the *Pandects* as were those of Papinian, brought together the ancient praetorian edicts and all the comments made upon the *Lex Annua*, which the praetors had now for a long time transmitted with scarcely any change; he reduced to order their provisions, thus forming, under the already ancient title of the Perpetual Edict, a sort of code of praetorian jurisdiction and a general rule of procedure. Hadrian obtained a senatus-consultum, which in the year 131 gave the force of law to this new Perpetual Edict. The praetors, the governors of provinces, and all magistrates charged with the administration of justice were required to conform to it, with permission to add, for new cases which might arise, formulas and accessory matter conceived in the spirit of the legislative work whose authority the Senate and the Emperor had now sanctioned. It was the substitution of law for arbitrary decisions, a benefit secured to the provinces, and the first publication of that great work which has become the corpus of Roman Law.<sup>1</sup>

Hadrian did not design to arrest by this codification — as has happened in other times and in other countries — the juridic life which had dawned so brilliantly.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, he encouraged the studies of the *prudentes*, confirming by a rescript the authority of their official responses, to which when they were unanimous he gave the force of law.<sup>3</sup>

The existence of peace on the frontiers, of order in the provinces, of economy in the palace and even in the army, of justice everywhere, and, finally, the good policy which gives a good condition of the finances, enabled the Emperor, without burdening the subjects, to adorn the cities, pension literary men and artists, relieve the provincials of the cost of maintaining the imperial post, and increase the assistance granted by Trajan to poor children.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godefroy (*Cod. Theod.* prol. p. 283) considers that the Perpetual Edict of Julianus was the source of all Roman law until the publication of the Code of Theodosius II. This is also the opinion of Bach (*Hist. Jur. rom.* pp. 404-442).

<sup>2</sup> Julius Celsus and Neratius Priscus were his contemporaries. I have just spoken of Salvius Julianus.

<sup>3</sup> *Sententiae eorum quibus permissum est jura condere . . . si in unum . . . concurrant . . . id legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 67).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 267. He decided that the allowance for maintenance left by will to a child till the age of puberty should be continued, to boys till eighteen, to girls till fourteen (*Digest*, xxxiv. i. 14). As regards posts before Hadrian's time, the cities were obliged to keep

But while he desired that the state should succor destitution and misfortune, he did not intend that the taxpayer should make contributions to himself at the cost of the public treasury. Shortly after his accession he had burnt all the debts to the treasury for the last sixteen years, which amounted to a sum equal to about forty million dollars.<sup>1</sup> Such a high figure of arrears would lead us to suppose that the administration of the finances had been badly conducted, or that Trajan's wars had overburdened the people and the provinces. In order to prevent the return of such abuses, Hadrian created a new office, that of fiscal advocate, which was, as regards the financial interests of the state, what our public ministry is for the interests of society and respect of the law. In each province the fiscal advocate sought out those who unjustly retained public revenues or property, and prosecuted them before the Emperor's procurator or at the governor's tribunal. But we may be sure that if this new officer showed diligence in his duties, he did not show any harshness; for in so doing he would have acted against the wishes of an Emperor who refused the heritages of citizens having families,<sup>2</sup> who left to the children of persons condemned to confiscation a share of the paternal fortune,<sup>3</sup> sometimes the whole, saying these words, still to be read in the Digest:<sup>4</sup> "I like better to enrich the state with men than with money." It was on the part of Hadrian a generous, intelligent protest against the practice of confiscation, which we have taken seventeen centuries to abolish.

One very important reform is attributed to Hadrian: he is supposed to have ended the hypocrisy of the imperial government by frankly constituting the monarchy; and Aurelius Victor main-

provided with the necessary stores the stations (*mansiones*) established on their territory, and they were obliged to supply the official traveller with horses and conveyances on the presentation of his *diploma*, or travelling permit (this regulation still exists in Russia). Hadrian seems to have substituted fixed contributions for contingent payments. Antoninus diminished this charge, and Severus perhaps made the treasury bear a part of it; but after him the whole charge fell upon the municipalities. The *cursus publicus* served the government, but not private persons. In proportion as its importance increased, the expense fell more heavily on the towns, and became one of the causes of their poverty. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* p. 98.

<sup>1</sup> Orelli, No. 805; Eckhel, vi. 478; and Cohen, vol. i. pl. vi. No. 1,049. A coin represents a licitor setting fire to a bundle of credit notes.

<sup>2</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> The twelfth (*id.*, *ibid.*); Dositheus (sect. 9) says the tenth.

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, xlviii. 28, 7, sect. 3.



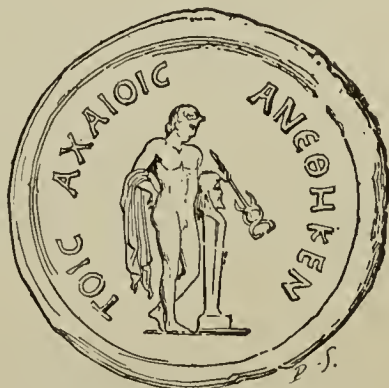
tains that the administrative reorganization which he effected was still in existence at the end of the fourth century, with the exception of a few changes introduced by Constantine.<sup>1</sup> In this too positive opinion may be detected the persistent remembrance of Hadrian's wisdom; it is an act of homage done to the Emperor who more than any other felt the necessity of bringing order into every branch of the state. He did not do in the second century the work of the fourth, but he prepared it. On this subject we have two important facts: he reorganized the *consilium principis*, and he withdrew the household offices from the freedmen, who since Augustus, and especially since Claudius, had been the real chiefs of the administration; henceforth all the Emperor's secretaries were taken from the equestrian order.<sup>2</sup> Now to put in these positions, instead of freedmen, blind servants of their master, Roman knights who became state officials, and by a necessary consequence to reorganize the entire government service, was to change the imperial household, hitherto little different from the house of a wealthy individual, into great public offices of administration.

This reform led to another. In persistently remaining absent from Rome, Hadrian would have paralyzed the course of public affairs, had he not made himself present, as it were, in his capital by a government council invested with legal authority. Augustus had constituted a privy council which — if Dion has not transferred to the early days of the Empire what was in existence under his own eyes — was already invested with extensive powers. But this council does not seem to have survived the first Emperor, — at least in the form that the latter had given it. Its action is nowhere apparent, and what remained of it was only a transient assemblage called together simply by the accident of imperial friendships. Hadrian reconstructed it by asking the senators to give their

<sup>1</sup> *Officia sane publica et palatina, nec non militiae in eam formam statuit, quae, paucis per Constantinum immutatis, hodie perseverant* (Epit. xiv.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit* (Spart., Hadr. 22). Vitellius had already intrusted the offices belonging to the palace to knights (Tae., Hist. i. 58: *Ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit*. Cf. Plutarch, Otho, 9). Domitian had done the same (Suet., Dom. 7); an illustrious Roman knight, who was decorated with the praetorian insignia and made prefect of the Vigiles, Titinius Capito (Pliny, Epist. i. 17; v. 8; viii. 12), was *ab epistulis* under this Emperor, under Nerva and Trajan (Kellermann, Vigil. No. 7). But this was exceptional; the rule referred to by Spartianus was only established by Hadrian. See Borghesi, v. 14 *et seq.*, and Hirschfeld, pp. 215, 257, 290.

approbation to the appointments which he made of persons of weight, famous jurisconsults, knights, praetors, and even consuls. The Emperor's choice and the sanction of the Senate gave to these functions—till then of a private nature, or at least indeterminate—the character of a kind of permanent magistracy. The questions which came up in the offices lately reorganized by Hadrian were laid before this council and were there decided.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor was able, therefore, without disquietude, to travel the world over, seeking milder winters at Athens or in Egypt, and less scorching summers in Gaul or Illyricum; the Fathers had placed in his hands, as it were, a second abdication, and in his absence the members of the governing council, supplying at need the place of the Senate by the delegated authority which they had received from it, and the place of the Emperor whose confidence they enjoyed, secured the despatch of affairs, the tranquillity of Rome, and the Emperor's safety. It was not a ministry, for the Romans disliked, as did the early kings of France, to admit any partition of powers; but when men like Salvius Julianus, Ulpian, Papinian, or Paulus sat at the *consilium*, a minister of justice might be considered as present there. It is therefore not at all astonishing that the beginning of the monarchical transformation effected under Diocletian has been carried back to the period when the freedmen were relegated into obscurity, the knights were admitted into the central administration, and the senators, or at least some of them, into the effective government of the Empire.



COIN COMMEMORATIVE OF  
HADRIAN'S JOURNEY IN GREECE.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . *in consilio habuit non amicos aut comites solum, sed jurisconsultos aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis probasset* (Spart., *Hadr.* 18). . . . *Adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus* (*ibid.* 22). . . . Ἐδίκασε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων (Dion, lxi. 7). The members of this council were divided into two classes,—*conciliares* et *adsumpti in concilium*, as we have titular counsellors of state and members of the council, or auditors. They were appointed from sixty thousand sesterces up to two hundred thousand; and the difference of the salary marked that of rank. See Wilmanns, No. 1,286: this inscription, having the accents, belongs, at latest, to the end of the second century; and as it gives the Emperor the titles of *pius* and *felix*, which Commodus was the first to bear, it is posterior to the year 180 (Eckhel, vii. 135).

<sup>2</sup> TOIC AXAIOIC ANEΘHKEN. Mercury, naked, standing, holding the caduceus; in front, a boundary-stone. Bronze coin.



The supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction intrusted, in Italy, to four men of consular rank, and the multiplication of *curators*, presaged the approach of the time when ancient rights and privileges were to disappear before the equality of universal obedience. Marcus Aurelius will replace Hadrian's consuls by *juridici*,<sup>1</sup> magistrates of less dignity, invested solely with civil jurisdiction; but he will give the criminal jurisdiction to the prefect of the city in the suburban region (as far as the hundredth milestone), and to the prefect of the praetorium in the rest of Italy.<sup>2</sup> Thus, out of respect for the old land which had borne the brave populations whence Rome had formed her legions, while giving her the condition of a province, the application to her of that name was avoided.

Hadrian's journeys made no change in this order; the imperial post rapidly brought to him the opinion of his council. Besides, he took with him a part of those who composed it, so that the government followed him in his wanderings. "Rome," says Herodian, "is where the Emperor is."<sup>3</sup>

I omit a number of unimportant reforms. Hadrian had a passion for regulating everything, as he had for knowing everything, even family secrets. His police, which by reason of his constant travelling he must have made very active, listened at the doors, looked into the interior of houses, and read, over her shoulder, the letter which a wife was writing to her husband, — not, like Tiberius, from suspicion, but like Louis XV., to find amusement and diversion. While he multiplied regulations respecting dress, carriages, baths, materials from demolished buildings,<sup>4</sup> burials, which he

<sup>1</sup> On the *juridici*, see Mommsen in the *Gromatici veteres*, edit. Lachmann, ii. 192 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The prefect of the praetorium incontestably had this right under Severus; it is probable, but not certain, that it was Marcus Aurelius who gave it him. He renewed the old interdict against traffic by the senators (Dion, lvi. 16). As to the right of the prefect of the city, it is noted in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1 pr. and sect. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ambulatorium senatum*, says Haubold (*De Consist. principum Rom.*). Cf. Papinian in the *Digest*, xxvii. i. 30: . . . *honor delatus (in consilium adsumpto) finem certi temporis nec loci habet.* Ἐπεὶ τὸ ἡρώμην ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ (Herod. i. 6). It is probable that to Hadrian is due the enlargement of the *jus Latii*, the difference of which is made clear by a new reading of the palimpsest of Gaius. In the cities which had the *Minus Latium*, the magistrates alone could acquire the Roman citizenship; in those which had the *Majus Latium*, all the decurions obtained this privilege.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Mémoire* of M. Egger on the *Sénatus-consulte contre les industriels qui spéculent sur la démolition des édifices*, 1872.

prohibited in the interior of cities,<sup>1</sup> etc., he also made edicts closing the *ergastula*, in which so many slaves, even so many free men, carried off by surprise, were detained and tortured; depriving masters of the right of life and death over their human cattle and protecting the slave against their cruelty;<sup>2</sup> interdicting masters, unless by a magistrate's authorization, from an infamous speculation,—the sale of these unfortunates, both men and women, to proprietors of brothels or to schools of gladiators; prohibiting the indiscriminate torture of all the slaves of an assassinated master, even those who had not been within sight or hearing, and who consequently could not have rendered him help. A matron cruelly treated her female slaves, and Hadrian condemned her to five years' banishment;<sup>3</sup> the human sacrifices to Carthaginian Baal were not uncommon, and he again proscribed them;<sup>4</sup> lastly, employing logic in the service of humanity, he decided that the woman who had been free at any time during pregnancy would of necessity give birth to a free infant,<sup>5</sup> and that this child should be by birth Roman if its parents, *peregrini* at the time of conception, had obtained the freedom of the city before its birth.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he ameliorated the condition of woman, allowed her to make a will,<sup>7</sup> and recognized in her who had the *jus trium liberorum* the right of inheriting from her sons who had died intestate.<sup>8</sup> We have seen Trajan restraining the rights of the *patria potestas*;<sup>9</sup> a decision of Hadrian, given in a particular case, prepared however the destruction of the father's authority as judge over his own family. A son had

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, xlvii. 12, 3, sect. 5. The Twelve Tables had forbidden it at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> It was a modification of the *senatus-consultum Silanianum* (10 A. D.), whose principal article however continued in force; for Modestinus says in the *Digest* (xxix. 5, 18) that the slave who, if able to afford help to his master, did not do so, should be punished with death. Cf. Paulus, *Sent.* iii. 4, and Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, i. 6, 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. IV. p. 173, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Digest*, i. 5, 18. This decision of Hadrian has become the teaching of the Institutes of Justinian.

<sup>6</sup> Gaius, i. sects. 77 and 92. He likewise decided that a child born of a Roman mother and Latin father should be Roman (*Id.*, i. sects. 30 and 80).

<sup>7</sup> *De feminarum testamentis* (Gaius, i. sect. 115).

<sup>8</sup> . . . *Licet ea in potestate parentis esset* (Ulpian, *Frag.* xxvi. 8). This right was recognized in the freedwoman only when she had four children. Cf. in the *Digest* (xxxviii. 17) the *senatus-consultum Tertullianum*.

<sup>9</sup> See Vol. IV. chap. lxxix. sect. iii.



commerce with his stepmother; the father enticed him to the chase, and then killed him. The Emperor condemned the murderer to banishment, not for having made use of the ancient rights of paternal authority, but for having acted as a brigand in the woods.<sup>1</sup>

An inscription mentions a law of Hadrian on the *coloni*. The law itself is unfortunately lost; but this simple reference proves his clear-sightedness in thus regulating a new condition of the rural populations, which was destined by degrees to replace the ancient servitude.<sup>2</sup>

Edicts and decisions like these make us willing to excuse many eccentricities. Never had a similar or more generous effort been made by the legislator to diminish the plague of slavery, a purulent sore which threatened social life. Hadrian's legislation is a long stride towards the transformation which the ancient form of servitude is to undergo; a large number of slaves will soon be rural peasants (*coloni*).

At Rome, much simplicity of life and dignity of bearing, although he paid no heed to those who would have surrounded him with idle and tiresome formalities, using as a pretext the majesty of rank; and if there were any successors to Antinous, this vice at least hid itself from public knowledge. In the palace, the slaves and freedmen were kept in obscurity; no wine was seen on the table, but repasts seasoned with varied conversation, interesting reading, or scenic representations. Receptions took place on holidays; but ordinarily calm and silence prevailed in the imperial residence. There was however no affectation of austerity; the Emperor shared in the pleasures of his friends, and also in their griefs; he hunted with them, and he visited them if they were ill. But he never suffered them to abuse his affection or acquire from it a credit from which they might gain advantage, "as the Caesarians and those surrounding the Emperors had been accustomed to do."<sup>3</sup> In public, as his retinue, the most respected citizens; and no advances were made to the crowd for the sake of gaining those acclamations so easily obtained and often so deceptive. When he

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit: nam patria potestas in pietate debet, non atrocitate consistere* (*Digest*, xlviii. 9, 5).

<sup>2</sup> The question of the colonial system is discussed in chap. lxxxii. sect. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Dion*, lxix. 7.

returned from the Forum or Senate, it was in a litter, so that he might not be followed.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his whole reign he showed the same consideration towards the senators. Did foreign ambassadors arrive, he himself presented them to the Senate, made known their requests, listened to the opinion of each senator, and after having received the votes, made his reply in accordance with the views of the majority. With the people, as with the soldiers, he was severe rather than affable.<sup>2</sup> On one occasion during the games he was urgently asked a favor<sup>3</sup> which he did not think it right to grant. He refused it; and all the assembly crying out, he gave orders by a herald that there should be silence, and that the games should proceed. Another time the people pressed him with great clamor to set at liberty a charioteer. He wrote on his tablets: "The dignity of the Roman people forbids them to ask me to set free another's slave or to compel the owner to set him free;" and he threw these tablets into the crowd. At other times he avoided an importunate request by a jest. A suppliant whose hair was growing white, and who had not been able to obtain a certain favor, appeared again some time after with his hair dyed and asked for the same situation: "But I have already refused it to your father," the Emperor rejoined.

He liked, as we have said, to administer justice, and above all to have justice done; in his tribunal he was surrounded, "not by his friends and intimates, but by the wisest jurisconsults, better than whom the Senate itself would not have been able to choose, as Julius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus."<sup>4</sup> Dion, who is not favorable towards him, yet remarks that he never unjustly deprived any man of his possessions; and the historian adds, with a simplicity which is unfortunately a just estimate of certain characters: "He was not at all passionate, even towards the persons of no importance who did him service in acting contrary to his opinion." But he would not suffer the judges to violate the law; and his own vigilance and that which he required from the administration rendered all forms of extortion very

<sup>1</sup> *Omnia ad privati hominis modum fecit* (Spart., *Hadr.* 9).

<sup>2</sup> Ἐμβριθῶς μᾶλλον ἢ θωπευτικῶς (Dion, lxix. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Ἰσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντί τι (*id.*, *ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 18.



difficult.<sup>1</sup> He maintained that the intention, and not the deed, constituted the guilt; and if personally his morals were bad, as emperor he recompensed virtue when he refused to recognize as a criminal the man who, in defending himself or any of his family from shameful acts of violence, had taken the life of the aggressor.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that the grammarian Dositheus, who has preserved some of the *Letters* and *Sentences* of Hadrian, should have been only a schoolmaster, selecting at random the examples which he set before his scholars. Better chosen and more numerous, these fragments would have allowed us to lift a corner of the veil which hides this Emperor's daily life. Such as they are, they show him administering justice or giving advice to all comers in the vestibule of his palace,<sup>3</sup> like an Eastern king or sheik at the gate of his city; and notwithstanding their insignificance, they help us to grasp the true character of this imperial magistracy, made up from the well-determined prerogatives of the ancient republican offices and the indefinite powers of patriarchal authority.

A man wishes to enter the army. "Where do you want to serve?" "In the praetorium." "But what is your height?" "Five feet and a half." "Enter the city cohorts; and if you are a good soldier, you will be able in the third year to be passed into the praetorians" (sect. 2).

An old soldier goes to the palace. "My sons, master, have been taken for the military service." "Very good." "But they are very ignorant; I am therefore afraid they will not act according to the regulations and that they will leave me destitute." "Why do you fear that? Are we not in a state of peace? Their time in the service will pass peaceably." "Allow me, my lord, to follow them in the capacity of servant." "By the gods! do nothing of the kind. It is not fit that you should be your sons' valet; but take this vine-twigg. I make a centurion of you" <sup>4</sup> (sect. 13).

<sup>1</sup> *De iudiciis omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret* (Spart., *ibid.* 21).

<sup>2</sup> *Eum qui stuprum sibi vel suis per vim inferentem occidit, dimittendum* (Digest, xlviii. 8, 1, sect. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Some of the requests addressed to the Emperor were made by writing, *per libellos*; others, *virâ voce*.

<sup>4</sup> There were in each legion sixty grades of centurions, all of different rank.

Another day he condemns a son to keep his old, infirm father, a guardian to furnish support to his ward. A man and a woman who had not contracted *justae nuptiae*, — that is to say, a legitimate marriage, — disputed which should have possession of their child in order to obtain its share in the public distributions. The Emperor orders the child to appear. “With whom do you live?” “With my mother.” Upon which the Emperor, turning to the man, says: “Miscreant! give up this *congiarium* which does not belong to you” (sect. 11).

While he is present at the distribution of what we should call tickets for bread, a woman cries out: “I beg of you, my lord, to order them to give me a part of my son’s *congiarium*, for he has deserted me.” The son is present. “My lord, I do not acknowledge her to be my mother.” “Well, then, if you persist in that, I shall no longer acknowledge you to be a citizen” (sect. 14).

A man declares that he possesses the equestrian qualification and that he had solicited the grant of the horse of honor (*equum publicum*),<sup>1</sup> but could not obtain it because of an accusation brought against him. “The man who asks for the horse of honor ought to be free from all reproach; prove that your life is without stain” (sect. 6).

In all this there is nothing of importance as regards law or history. Yet had Tacitus read these fragments of Dositheus he would not have made it a cause of reproach to Tiberius that the latter was accustomed to be present in the tribunals. The Emperor was a military chief, imperator; but he belonged also to that age in which society above all saw in the ruler a justiciary like Solomon or Saint Louis. In the hands of a wise man this power of “making law” (*condere jura*) at every opportunity and on every question is not dangerous; in the hands of a profligate, violent, or foolish man, it has been and will again be a terrible thing. Hadrian fortunately belonged to the class of wise men.

Such an Emperor had a right to be well served, and he was so,

<sup>1</sup> An old expression, which simply means the inscription on the official list of the knights having the right in the ceremony to take part in the *transvectio*. The knight *equo publico* had first of all the equestrian qualification given by the fortune and rank which the public authority assigned him. Now this rank was necessary for reaching the highest offices.



because he had the merit which in a ruler can take the place of all the rest, — he knew how to find out useful men and to give them those duties which they were best able to fulfil. But the authors who tell us so little about this Emperor tell us nothing of his lieutenants. He had such, however, as were worthy of ancient times. Thus Marcius Turbo, his ablest general, who became prefect of the praetorium, surprised the effeminate grandes of Rome by his activity and austere life. He passed the whole day at work at the palace, and often returned to the Emperor in the middle of the night. He was never seen, even when ill, to shut himself up in his house; and when Hadrian urged him to take some repose, he answered in the words of Vespasian: “A praetorian prefect should die standing.”<sup>1</sup>

Sulpicius Similis was another severe guardian of discipline. On one occasion, while yet only a centurion, having been called by Trajan into the imperial tent, the subaltern remonstrated with his chief: “It is a shame, Caesar, that thou shouldst converse with a centurion while the tribunes stand waiting at thy door.” He was obliged, in spite of himself, to accept the command of the praetorium, retired from it as soon as he was able, passed the remaining seven years of his life in the country, and caused to be inscribed on his tomb: “Here lies Similis, who existed seventy-six years and lived seven.”<sup>2</sup>

Julius Severus, the conqueror of the Jews, also a resolute and upright man, gained such renown in his government of Bithynia that, more than a century later, his name was still venerated there. Arrian is another proof of the suitableness of Hadrian’s selections. A distinguished writer, an accurate historian, a good general, and the skilful, prudent ruler of a frontier province, he merited his master’s esteem and has gained that of posterity.

Yet Hadrian is reproached with base jealousy and cruelty; but it is easy to recognize the source of these reproaches. During his unceasing travels he carried the government about with him along all the highways of the Empire. Formerly the real authority remained at least in Rome, and from a distance it was not easy to see whether this power was wielded from the Palatine or from the

<sup>1</sup> Dion. lxi. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, lxi. 19.

senate-house. With Hadrian illusions were no longer possible. What then were the idlers of Rome doing, the old politicians out of office, the young nobles without war, without commands obtained "before their first beard?"<sup>1</sup> What were men saying under the porticos of Trajan's Forum, along the Via Sacra, and in all the patrician houses? That "the little Greek" was moreover a little mind; that this provincial found pleasure in those of his own sort;<sup>2</sup> that this great lover of peace was afraid of war. He was not reproached for his vices, for they were those common to all, nor yet for his cruelty, since no one saw any executions; but it was insinuated that he greatly desired some victims, and his caprices were exaggerated. Petty quarrels between himself and the sophists who surrounded him were raised to the dignity of state matters. Finally, as his marriage had been sterile, they attributed to Sabina disgraceful language; and without inventing any new scandal, they put into his mouth the words attributed already to Nero's father: "Of her and myself there can be born only a monster fatal to the human race." It would not do to conspire against a ruler who possessed the personal devotion of thirty legions. So this happened only on his accession, when he was thought not to be firmly established, and at the close of his life, when it was believed that mind and hand were enfeebled by the approach of death.<sup>4</sup> But men gratified



THE EMPRESS SABINA AS VENUS GENETRIX.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret* (Spart., *Hadr.* 10).

<sup>2</sup> *In colloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit* (Spart., *ibid.* 20).

<sup>3</sup> Statue found in the Augusteum of Otricoli (Vatican, *Musée Pio Clem.* vol. iii. pl. 8).

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Quum animo parum valeret, ilcircoque despectui haberetur* (Aur. Victor, *De Caes.* 14).



themselves instead by endless misrepresentations, — a petty war of which Antoninus was so afraid that he dared not leave Rome during his whole reign.

But the gossips greedily listened to these scandals, and gathered them for others, who put them in writing. This is why we find them in the poor histories of this time, — Spartianus and Dion, especially the Dion of the monk Xiphilinus. With such writers we are bound to pay no heed to vague accusations, or statements without proof, when they are contradictory to the well-established character of men or to known events. Thus Dion, attributing to jealousy the abandonment of Trajan's conquests and the destruction of the bridge over the Danube, gives evidence of no less folly when he represents Hadrian as envious of the dead, even of Homer, and as healing himself of his first attack of dropsy "by drawing off, aided by magic and enchantments, the water which swelled his body." Spartianus seriously asserts that the Emperor "had such a deep knowledge of astrology that he wrote down on the evening before the kalends of January all that was to happen to him in the coming year." Later he complains "of the violence of his natural cruelty" (*vim crudelitatis ingenitae*), and he adds: *Ideirco multa pie fecisse*.<sup>1</sup> To admit this innate cruelty, which had the singular effect of being the motive of his good actions, we must have something else besides phrases from which nothing comes when they are sifted. We have had too many examples of this unfortunate mania in a writer of genius like Tacitus, to accept without proof the statements of authors of the decadence, who were absolutely destitute of critical judgment and the love of order and accuracy, but, on the other hand, richly endowed with the most fatuous credulity.

We read in Dion: "His jealousy of superior talents injured a great number of people and caused the destruction of some. For this reason he sought to rid himself of Favorinus the Gaul and of Dionysius the Milesian."<sup>2</sup> One might believe, from these words, that some sad fate happened to these two men. Now Dionysius was created a Roman knight, and Favorinus died full of years in

<sup>1</sup> *Had.* 16, 23. See, at the beginning of the following chapter, the ridiculous story told by Aur. Victor (*De Caes.* 14) respecting the adoption of Antoninus.

<sup>2</sup> *l.* ix. 3. Spartianus says, on the contrary (16) that Favorinus surpassed all others in his friendship, and does not state that this favor had ceased.

the last days of Antoninus. Caught up once by the Emperor respecting an expression, the latter had yielded the point immediately; and his friends rallying him for having given in so quickly, he had replied, "You will never persuade me that he who commands thirty legions is not the wisest man in the world." It would be just to set down this expression to the sophist's cowardice; on the contrary, it is charged to the Emperor, who is thus



THE EMPRESS SABINA.<sup>1</sup>

represented as unable to endure the slightest contradiction. It is said of the same personage that he used to boast of three things,—that, being a Gaul, he spoke Greek; a eunuch, he had been charged with adultery; and that although he had offended the Emperor, he was still alive. The eunuch was not at all modest in boasting that he had been the object of an Emperor's hatred;

<sup>1</sup> Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 33. The dress is in alabaster.



and if he preserved, as it seems,<sup>1</sup> the favor of Antoninus, it is because Hadrian had not even driven him from his court. Probably all the injury that he had received there, had been that of seeing other sophists preferred to himself. Dionysius of Milctus and the philosopher Heliodorus also lost their credit; but Epictetus kept his, and Arrian, the latter's disciple, "was taken from his books" to be made consul.

We know that Hadrian enjoyed being surrounded by men of letters and artists,—a race formerly disputatious, and a republic full of storms, because vanity was always over-excited there. "The Emperor can give thee wealth and office," said Dionysius to Heliodorus, whom Hadrian had just taken as secretary; "but he will never make an orator of thee." That this wayward temper sometimes wearied the Emperor, and that in his disputes with them, on some grammatical or philosophical point, he now and then reminded them, by an imperious reply, of their opponent's rank, is not surprising. He was fond of a laugh, and called forth disputes, in which he gave back verse for verse, dart for dart,—not always blunting his weapon's point.<sup>2</sup> One of these sophists<sup>3</sup> claims the immunities which the law accords to philosophers. "He a philosopher!" responds Hadrian, "what a mistake!" and he refuses. The expression was hard, and the behavior unkind; but from a word, even if sharp, to an axe-blow, the distance is great, and I do not believe that it was ever crossed by an Emperor who loved literature too well to persecute its representatives.

"He honored and enriched," says his biographer, "all those who gave themselves up to teaching; and he sent away, but not till he had loaded them with gifts, those who were not capable of maintaining the reputation of their profession."<sup>4</sup> That is our "retired list," with all the honors of the veteran standing. Let us remark in passing, that during this reign lived the following distinguished men: Plutarch, one of Hadrian's masters; Suetonius, his secretary, who lost his favor for an offence against the Empress; Phlegon, his freedman, who wrote, at the Emperor's dictation,

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, xx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Acer nimis ad lacessendum pariter et respondendum seriis, joco, malediciis: referre carmen carmini, dictum dictui* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.* 14).

<sup>3</sup> Favorinus, *ap. Philostratum, Vitae Soph.* i.

<sup>4</sup> Spart. *Hadri.* 16.

a history of his reign; Arrian, a skilful and learned general; Ptolemy, the famous geographer; Pausanias and Aulus Gellius; lastly, an eminent grammarian, Apollonius Dyscolus, or the Ill-tempered. Juvenal had lately died, and Lucian and Apuleius had as yet written nothing. Thus erudition prevails, and the higher literature is dead; for while every man makes verses or delivers harangues, neither an orator nor a poet is found.

We have been able to rate cheaply Hadrian's quarrels with the sophists; but there would remain one odious blot upon his name if it were true that Apollodorus was put to death in revenge for his criticisms on the plan of a temple designed by the Emperor. I find it difficult to believe this wicked act, and what is related about it is very obscure. It is said that during Trajan's life Apollodorus gave offence to the future Emperor by refusing to listen on one occasion when Hadrian wished to speak to him of his building plans, and that this rudeness was made the ground of the architect's disgrace. Yet he still continued in favor, for the new Emperor employed him in the construction of a colossus which he proposed to dedicate to the Moon, to be placed beside the one which Nero had dedicated to the Sun.<sup>1</sup> The recital of Dion Cassius, or rather of his abbreviator, Xiphilinus, is full of inconsistencies. Hadrian, he says, banished Apollodorus, but remained in correspondence with him; he even asked him to compose the treatise on engines of war to which we have already referred, beginning thus: "Sir, I have read your letter respecting war machines, and I am glad that you have judged me worthy of executing such a work." Farther on he adds, "In my more prosperous days, when we were together with the army . . ." These sad but gentle words do not imply much hatred in the exile's heart towards his persecutor, nor does this request on the part of the Emperor show a very strong displeasure towards the persecuted man. There is something here which has not come down to us. If the Emperor did not recall the exile, it may be that the Senate had pronounced his sentence as the consequence of some misconduct whose memory was still fresh. Dion tells us that Hadrian finally ordered the death of Apollodorus because the latter said of a statue which the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.* 19.



proposed to place seated in a temple: "It is too tall; if it stood up it would break through the roof." This skilful artist could not possibly have made to so expert a connoisseur an objection contrary to the ancient idea respecting the statues of the gods, a criticism which would have condemned Pheidias no less than Hadrian. It is equally difficult to admit that the murder of the great architect could have taken place unknown to the public. But Spartianus, who is unsparing in his accusations of cruelty against the Emperor while speaking of Apollodorus, makes no allusion to his sudden death. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor are alike ignorant on the subject, or at least say not a word about it. If it be a fact, we must find some other motives than those assigned; for this murder, as Dion relates it, would have been an act of foolish cruelty, and we have the right to say that Hadrian did not commit such acts.<sup>1</sup>

There is a question which at this period in the history of Rome must be put respecting each Emperor: What conduct did he exhibit towards those who were called "the desperate," and who to the Emperor's apotheosis opposed that of the Crucified One?

The faith which was expiring encountered that which was beginning, and they mingled, like two rivers which have reached their confluence, some Christian sects differing so little from the pagan that, regarded from a distance and hastily, it was hard to distinguish the adherents of the two religions. We have quoted<sup>2</sup> one of Hadrian's letters, omitting a passage in reference to the Christians for the purpose of introducing it here. "In Egypt," he says, "the Christians are the worshippers of Serapis, even those who call themselves Christ's bishops. In this country there is neither Jewish rabbi, nor Samaritan, nor Christian priest, who is not an astrologer, a diviner, and an impostor.<sup>3</sup> Even the patriarch, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by some to worship Serapis,

<sup>1</sup> Dion, lxi. 4. It must not be forgotten that we have not the text of Dion, and that perhaps the two words *ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν* are an interpolation by Xiphilinus; for in chapter 2 Dion says of the government of this Emperor, *φιλανθρωπώτατα ἄρξας*, and he reproaches him only for the executions of 119 and 137.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Vopiscus, *Saturn.* 8. The word *alipites*, anointer with oil, is explained by the word *medici* of the preceding chapter, evidently taken in a bad sense.

by others Christ." These words betray a certain interest in the religious question which at this time distracted the world. It is clear that Hadrian felt some concern in respect to the problems which were in agitation beneath him. But like the powerful and prosperous of the time, who regard from a distance and disdain new ideas, he saw but did not comprehend; and, like many others, he confounded with the God of the Christians him whom the Lagidae had made the supreme god of life, death, and resurrection.

Yet the Emperor ought to have been better informed in Christian dogmas; for at Athens he had permitted Aristeides, a converted philosopher, and Bishop Quadratus, the earliest apologist, to present to him a defence of their faith (126). The Church, with its organization and rites, at that time very simple in character, could cause no anxiety to an Emperor who in his journeyings had encountered so many different systems, beliefs, and cults that the old Roman spirit, harsh and narrow, had been destroyed within him, giving place to a spirit of universal toleration. The Christian sect, professing to heal the sick and raise the dead, seemed to him to have as much right to live undisturbed as the priests of Serapis, who claimed the same power. He had no wish to accuse them, as Domitian did, of Judaizing, or as Trajan of forming secret societies, and he connected their doctrine of the Trinity with the purest doctrines of Plato or with the Egyptian Trinity. The Christians, whose apologists appeared before him in the philosopher's cloak,<sup>1</sup> seemed to him to form a philosophic school, to which it was his duty to give the liberty which he gave to all the others. If they were possessed with a spirit of proselytism, all men then had it to the degree that we may consider Seneca, Epictetus, Dion Chrysostom as spiritual directors; that many regarded Apollonius of Tyana as a messiah; and that the roads and streets were blocked by preaching philosophers, of whom Lucian has left us a portrait which, except in the matter of dress, seems the exact picture of certain mediæval preachers.

Hadrian, who had changed the old methods of ruling, changed

<sup>1</sup> Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 328: "Aristeides was a philosopher by profession, and kept its dress when he embraced the faith." Many Christians also wore the philosopher's cloak, as Saint Justin testifies (*Dial. cum Tryph. init.*), and Tertullian after his conversion (*De Pallio*).



also the ancient maxims of government; and since he rested the safety of the Empire in the vigilance and firmness of the Emperor, directed incessantly towards all points of territory,—that is to say, in a wisdom that was altogether of this world,—he no longer had need of placing it under the care of the official religion. Notwithstanding his title of sovereign pontiff, he left the gods of Augustus to defend themselves as best they could without his aid. Nevertheless, we must always remember that in this vast Empire there might easily be cities where the Christians were victims either to the frenzy of an excited populace or to the religious animosity of some feeble-minded magistrate; also that the care of religious matters belonged to the decurions, who naturally felt that they were defending their own gods in accusing those persons who attacked them. There were many local persecutions against which the provincials had no protection; only the Roman citizens—very numerous at this period, it is true—were sheltered from those precipitate judgments which agitated the consciences of certain functionaries. Several of these, among others Licinius Silvanus Granianus,<sup>1</sup> proconsul of Asia, wrote to the Emperor that it did not seem just in their opinion to put a man to death because the populace cried: “To the beasts with the Christian!”<sup>2</sup> We have one of Hadrian’s replies, that which was addressed to Minucius Fundanus, the successor of this sensible man. Justin has inserted it entire in his first *Apology*, and Eusebius gives a Greek translation of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Without revoking the very precise instructions given by Trajan to Pliny,—an act which would have been equivalent to an official recognition of Christianity,—Hadrian seems to have sought, by the vagueness of his reply, to furnish to the judges a pretext for only punishing the Christians on account of breaches of the common law. “If any man,” says he, “accuses the Christians and proves that they have done anything contrary to the law, judge them according to the crime that they have committed; if they have been calumniated, punish the calumniator.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiat.* i. 197 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> If the letter of Tiberianus, governor of Palestine, given by Malala and Suidas, were authentic, it would be necessary also to admit Trajan’s reply, ordering Tiberianus and the other governors to leave the Christians in peace; but Tillemont rejects it (vol. ii. p. 578).

<sup>3</sup> It has been thought that the rescript was a sort of amnesty given, in 127, on the occasion of the first celebration of the *decennalia* of Hadrian.

It may be said that this granted nothing, since the laws of the Empire condemned the Christians. Doubtless this is true. But in the first place, by his rescript Hadrian interdicted violence and tumultuary executions, and made legal procedure obligatory; then, in an absolute government the meaning of laws depends upon the spirit in which they are executed, and there can be no doubt that under the vague language employed by Hadrian the imperial administration recognized the toleration which was in the mind of its chief, since Justin says that this rescript contained all that the Christians could ask at the hands of the Emperors.<sup>1</sup>

Antoninus, like his predecessor, never conceived the idea of giving them a legal existence, which was indeed incompatible with the laws and constitution of the Empire; but he granted them tolerance as a matter of fact, and this was at first sufficient.

What would have happened if this policy had been continued by the successors of these two Emperors,—if some had not sought to extinguish Christianity in blood; if others had not delivered up to it the government, and caused it to sit down with them upon the throne? All the crimes committed by persecution would have been avoided, and the heroism of the martyrs would have been unknown. On the other hand, we should have escaped the hatred against pagan society, its arts and literature; and Christianity, filtering gradually into men's minds, would have peaceably transformed the world, without becoming, first of all a power in the state, and then a state itself, having force and employing it, making martyrs after having itself furnished them. Then would it have been for the Empire an element of regeneration instead of being a cause of dissolution. But the government

<sup>1</sup> See Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* iv. 8 and 9, the last edition of Saint Justin, by Th. Otto, *S. Justini opera* (Jena, 1847), i. 162 *ad fin.* *Apolog. prima*, οὐκ . . . μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, and the work of M. Aubé, *Saint Justin, philosophe et martyr*, pp. xlvii–xlix. Sulpicius Severus and Saint Jerome speak of a violent persecution under Hadrian. The Jansenist, Le Nain de Tillemont, would like to make a similar statement; but his impartiality obliges him to say: “Eusebius and most of the others do not relate it. And, in fact, it does not result from any edict of this prince, as can easily be proved by Saint Melito and Tertullian” (*Hist. des Emp.* ii. 319). Saint Irenaeus (iii. 3) cites only one martyrdom, that of Telesphorus. Melito, bishop of Sardis under Marcus Aurelius, complains that the Christians were then persecuted in Asia by the edicts of the municipal magistrates,—“a thing which,” says he, “has never been done;” and he does not know whether these Edicts were published by the Emperor’s order or unknown to him (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.* iv. 26). Cf. Dion, lxx. 3, which shows Antoninus “surpassing the marks of esteem with which Hadrian had honored the Christians.”



of the world belongs to passion much more than to wisdom; and this idea of the separation of the temple and the forum, — or, to call it by its modern name, the separation of Church and State, — which never entered a Greek or Roman mind, was a fruit requiring thousands of years to reach maturity.

To Hadrian remains the honor of having acted as if he had had a deliberate respect for conscience. Under him no one, by order of the Emperor, suffered for his belief either in person or in property. He waged, however, a cruel religious war. In the early days of his reign his generals had crushed the Jewish insurrection which had broken out under Trajan at Cyrene, in Egypt, and in the Isle of Cyprus, where the working of the copper-mines conceded by Augustus to Herod on condition of sharing their revenues with the imperial treasury, had attracted a very large number of Jews. As in all wars made in the name of Heaven, atrocious cruelties had been committed on both sides. In Cyprus alone two hundred and forty thousand persons had perished, and the Jews had been forbidden, under pain of death, to set foot in the island; a man, even if driven thither by stress of weather, obtained no mercy.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere, similar cruelties; not only are tortures spoken of, but great massacres, and even cannibalism. "In Cyrenaïca," says Orosius,<sup>2</sup> "almost the whole population had perished; and if Hadrian had not sent thither numerous colonists, the land would have been void of inhabitants and uncultivated."

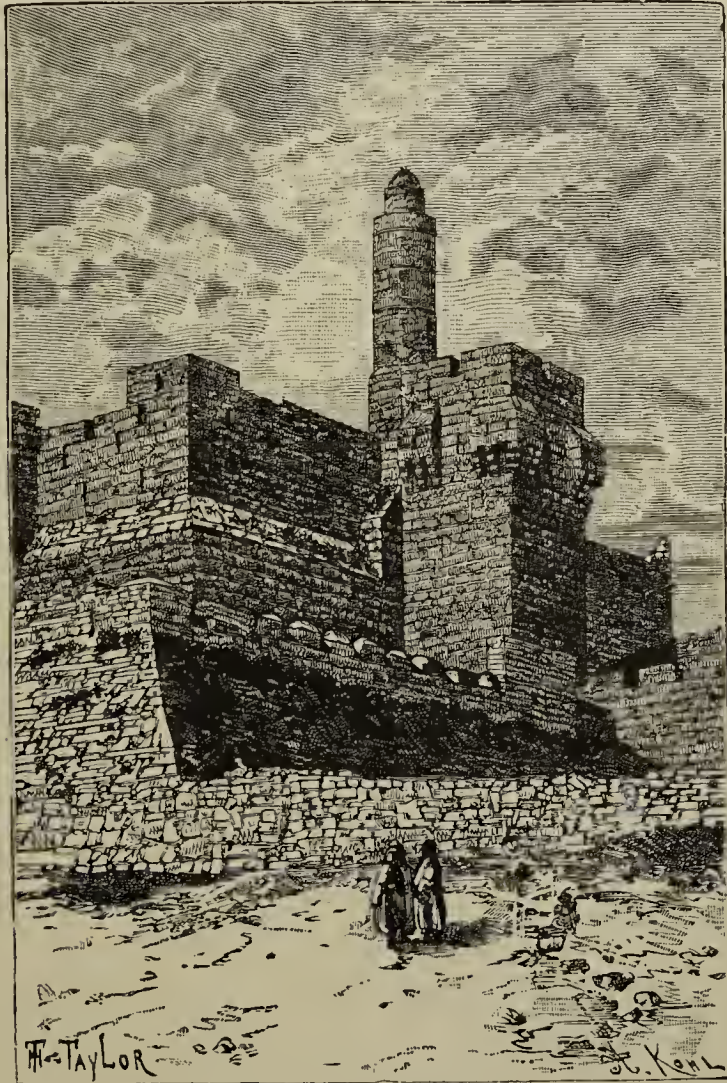
This time it was the Jewish colonies who had taken up arms. Exhausted by the late war, and moreover held in check by powerful garrisons, watched by skilful generals, the mother country had not possessed the strength to recommence hostilities on any large scale. But she continued the struggle in her heart; and on the ruins of the material country certain men had undertaken to reconstruct the spiritual country of the Hebrew people.

After the fall of Jerusalem the doctors of the law who had survived that awful catastrophe took refuge at Iabné (Jamnia), and later at Tiberias; and had there opened schools which kept

<sup>1</sup> Dion, lxi. 32. The historian Appian took part in this war, and nearly fell a victim in it; see the curious fragment of his xxivth book, found and commented on by M. Miller, *Rev. archéol.* 1869.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 12. Cf. Saint Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 121, and Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.* vi. 497.

alive the zeal for the law among these vanquished whom nothing could crush, because they felt themselves in possession of a system of religious faith infinitely superior to the force which had overwhelmed them.



REMAINS OF THE FORTIFICATION OF JERUSALEM CALLED THE "TOWER OF HIPPICUS."

It was by the schools, by doctrinal teaching as it was then understood, that the national movement was prepared, and it was in them that the Jews placed their hopes of safety. The legend of Akiba, the most celebrated of these doctors of the law,<sup>1</sup> is a touching evidence of this. In his youth the new Moses kept the flocks of Kalba Scheboua. His master's daughter, struck with

<sup>1</sup> "Like Ezra, he is called the Restorer of the Law, and compared to Moses" (Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 396).



the character of the young shepherd, asked him to marry her, making the condition that he should first go and receive instruction and endeavor to gain disciples. Akiba went. At the end of twelve years he returned, followed by twelve thousand disciples; and while approaching the house of his betrothed, he overheard the father saying angrily to his daughter: "Foolish child! how long wilt thou await in widowhood him who has abandoned thee?" And she replied, "If my spouse does as I desire, he will pass twelve years more in study." Upon this, Akiba returned to his books, and after the prescribed time came back with twenty-four thousand disciples. His betrothed hastened to meet him who had become the most celebrated of the doctors of the law, threw herself at his feet, and embraced his knees. The disciples would have repulsed this woman in rags, in whom they did not recognize their native land in mourning; but the master cried out: "What are you doing? She it is to whom you owe all your knowledge."

Until this time teaching among the Jews had been oral, traditional; the Law only was written. The school of Tiberias, foreseeing new misfortunes and a new dispersion, resolved to reduce to writing, after having discussed them for the last time, all the decisions of the doctors, all the prescriptions that usage had introduced, all the rules of conduct that wisdom had found out. This was the code of laws, civil and religious, the *Mishna*, or Repeated Law, which the school prepared to constitute, for all time and place, the moral bond of the nation.

When the school of Tiberias had achieved this immense work, though another tempest should arise and the Jews of Palestine perish in battles or executions, the Jewish nationality was saved.

In order to prevent the recurrence of these insurrections, which imperilled peace in the East, Hadrian did not have recourse to religious persecutions against individuals. He thought he should make them renounce their imperishable expectations of the advent of Messiah if he proved to them the hopelessness of those promises by blotting out even the name of Jerusalem. On the ruins of the Temple there had been encamped, since the great siege, a part of the legion *Xa Fretensis*.<sup>1</sup> Hadrian employed these troops in clearing the ground; and in the year 122 (?) a numerous colony

<sup>1</sup> See *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1872, p. 158.



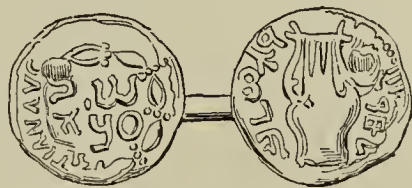


JEWS WAILING, LEANING AGAINST THE WALL OF JERUSALEM.





was established at the foot of Mount Zion. The city of David took the name of the Emperor and of Jupiter Capitolinus, *Aelia Capitolina*. In the places where every year the faithful came to worship Jehovah, the only God, they found the altars of all the Olympian divinities. Even the rite peculiar to their faith was proscribed: the imperial order prohibited the Jews from circumcising men of foreign race.<sup>2</sup>

COIN OF BAR KOKABA.<sup>1</sup>

The Hebrew nation had appeared resigned to the loss of their political independence; but they rose to avenge the outrage done to their God (132). Insurrections burst forth at various points; then all the people took up arms under the leadership of a man who showed such courage and audacity that the Jews, again deceived by the never-ending illusion, saw in him the promised savior, "the Star which was to arise out of Jacob;" and Akiba, recognizing him as the promised Messiah of Israel, placed in his hands, in the presence of the chiefs of the nation, the commander's staff, and held his stirrup when the "Son of the Star," Bar Kokaba, mounted his war-horse.<sup>3</sup>

The Romans, taken by surprise, at first suffered some defeats, which were concealed; and during three years the national chief

<sup>1</sup> *Simon*, in a crown of laurel; traces of the Latin inscription *TIAN. AVG.* On the reverse, *Deliverance of Jerusalem*, around a three-stringed lyre. Jewish coin, re-struck on a denarius of Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 13. Hadrian had not interdicted the circumcision of Jews by birth, which would have been a religious persecution, and he felt repugnance to such a measure, which no emperor had ever ordered; he had simply renewed the edict of Vespasian which forbade Jewish propagandism outside the nation (see p. 210). Some too zealous agents having made a general measure of it, Antoninus explained that the prohibition did not apply to the sons of Jews (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11). The imperial policy had, in these and other like questions, such continuity that the measures of Severus respecting the Jews were the same as those of Vespasian: *Judaeos fieri vetuit*. One of the principal arguments of Saint Justin in his *Apology* to prove the truth of Christianity is that the Christians are persecuted, and that the Jews are not. When he enumerates (*Dial.* 16, 19, 46) the evils which have struck the Jews since their revolt, he does not mention the prohibition of circumcision. On the contrary, he says, "That rite was given you in order to separate you from the other nations, and that you should suffer alone what you now suffer justly." And those evils, he adds, have been the desolation of their country by war, their cities delivered to the flames, and their being interdicted from going up to Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know his real name. M. Derenbourg (*Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. xxx<sup>e</sup>) and M. Renan (*L'Église chrétienne*, p. 197) call him Bar Kôzibà and Bar or Ben Coziba, the son of Coziba. [It is often written Barchocheba. — ED.]



was master in "the royal mountain," a chain of heights which stretches from Samaria to Idumaea. We still possess some coins which he caused to be struck, and which are dated by the years "of the deliverance."<sup>1</sup> The Christians, as at the time of the siege of Jerusalem, held themselves aloof; accused of betraying the common cause, they were persecuted and put to death when they refused to abjure.<sup>2</sup> But auxiliaries came from all the neighboring countries; and what the Emperor had at first regarded as one of those local disorders about which the Romans did not concern themselves, took the form of a public peril which required the most energetic measures. He summoned from Britain his best general, Julius Severus, gave him able lieutenants and sufficient forces, and ordered him to avoid general actions, to advance slowly but surely, leaving behind him neither man nor house. More than nine hundred large villages were destroyed, fifty strong places taken and razed; one hundred and eighty thousand men perished with arms in their hands. "But who can compute," says the historian, "those who succumbed to hunger and want, or perished in the flames of the conflagrations?" Judaea became a desert.<sup>3</sup> Bar Kokaba died a soldier's death, falling in battle; the doctors of the law, who had shut themselves up in the last fortress belonging to the insurrection, Bether, were put to death with tortures; Akiba was torn in pieces with red-hot pincers; and the wild beasts of the Roman amphitheatres were glutted with the flesh of the captives. To those not killed or sold as captives access was forbidden to Aelia Capitolina; only one day annually were they permitted to come and weep over the ruins of the Holy City.<sup>4</sup>

When, on seeing the leader of the insurrection, Akiba had exclaimed: "Behold the Messiah!" a doctor had replied: "Akiba, the grass will have grown between thy jaws before the Messiah appears;"<sup>5</sup> and it seemed that this harsh saying was true for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 154 et seq.; De Saulcy, *Lettres sur la numismatique judaïque* (*Revue numismatique*, 1865); Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 424. M. Renan (*op. cit.* p. 547) believes that the coinage of Bar Coziba consisted only of re-struck coins.

<sup>2</sup> Saint Justin, *Apol. IIa*, and Orosius, vii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Itiner. Hierosolym.* p. 159, edit. Wessel.

<sup>4</sup> Dion, lxix. 12-14. Hadrian demanded in the Senate the triumphal decorations for Julius Severus, *ob res in Judaea prospere gestas* (*C. I. L.* iii. No. 2,830), and he himself then received his second salutation as imperator.

<sup>5</sup> Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 425.

race itself. The human work had been foiled, and it seemed that this race was annihilated; but the work of the spirit triumphed.

It was in vain to scatter them over all the continents and let loose against them all the Furies; like Aeneas carrying from the ruins of Troy the Penates and the sacred fire of the national hearth, the fugitives went forth with a new ark of the covenant. The school of Tiberias, working in secrecy, completed the preparation of the *Mishna*; and the common country found itself wherever the book which represented it was carried. Thanks to it, from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Tagus, from the depths of Poland to the foot of Mount Atlas, the Jews so well preserved their language and their law that throughout the Middle Ages their doctors went from one end of Europe to the other and everywhere found fellow-citizens.

This people of the Unity, who would have but one God and one temple, had need of but one book in order not to perish. What a triumph of mind over force!<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Hadrian was growing old; the dark years had come with their weight of infirmities, and it was time for him to think of a successor.

Like all the Emperors since Caesar, except Claudius and Vespasian, Hadrian had no son. He obtained the authorization of the Senate to name his successor, — a thing easy to ask, dangerous to obtain; for if it gave in advance the legal consecration to the ruler's choice, which was a guaranty of order, it set at work all men's ambition, and raised hopes which disappointment might turn into discontent.

<sup>1</sup> The *Mishna* consists of six books, each of which contains several treatises, divided into more than five hundred chapters. The numerous commentaries made in the course of centuries on the different parts of the *Mishna* have formed the two Talmuds. The *Massora*, or "transmission," was a complete system of punctuation, signs and writing, contrived to make unalterable the text of the sacred books, copies of which, minutely collated with the originals, were solemnly delivered after a public benediction. Thus it is that the Jews raised "a quickset hedge," to use their own expression, around their national faith, to prevent the intrusion of any foreign element; and this sort of moral fortification has protected the spiritual Jerusalem better than the cyclopean walls of the city of David. The *Kabbala* was another arm, but for offensive warfare. It was a means for giving circulation, in spite of the enemy's vigilance, to the projects, hopes, and doctrines which the initiated alone could understand by the aid of a combination of letters, figures, and Biblical quotations of which they had the key. Our correspondences by cipher come from it.



For a long time he hesitated; and when one of his friends expressed surprise: "It is very easy for you," he replied, "to speak so, who seek an heir for your property, and not for the Empire." At last Hadrian decided in favor of L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, son-in-law of that C. Avidius Nigrinus who had conspired against him.<sup>1</sup> Was it a reparation granted to the family of a man whom he had loved, and a protest against the haste of the Senate in putting him to death? At any rate, Hadrian by this resolution showed himself to be above the petty spites of a vulgar mind. A gift of three hundred million sesterces to the soldiers, and of a hundred million to the people, secured their assent.

Verus, descended from an old Etrurian family, had, says his biographer, a kingly beauty; and this beauty served as a pretext to the slanderous tongues of Rome to explain his adoption. Thence to imprudent words and guilty intrigues is an easy descent, and at the end of it stands an exasperated Emperor, defending himself and his successor,—that is to say, the public peace. The man who, after Verus, made choice of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius to inherit the Empire, cannot have been influenced by the ignoble motives ascribed to him. Besides, Verus had eloquence and talents, although he led the elegant and voluptuous life of the rich patricians. Being sent, after his adoption, into Pannonia, he behaved well. In sending him away from Rome, Hadrian desired to shelter him from the plots which were likely to be formed, and had given him the command of the Pannonian legions in order to have well in hand, through his adopted son, the army nearest to Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Much discussion has taken place as to the date of the adoption of L. Verus. If we were reduced simply to the evidence of Spartianus (*Hadr.* 23; *Ael. Ver.* 3), we ought to place it before his praetorship; *i. e.* before the year 130. But the inscriptions are in opposition to this; on all those which are dated from his first consulship (136) he is called *L. Ceionius Commodus* (Orelli, Nos. 1,681, 4,354, 6,086), and it is only on those which are dated from the second (137) that he is styled *L. Aelius Caesar* (Orelli, Nos. 828, 856, 6,527). It was therefore in 136, and, following Borghesi (*Œuvres*, viii. 457), between June 19 and August 29, that he was adopted, declared Caesar, and sent into the two Pannonias with proconsular powers (see *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 4,366). The passage of the letter written to Servianus in 134, and in which Hadrian calls him his son, *filium meum Verum* (see p. 384), can be explained only by supposing that this Emperor called him thus by anticipation, having at that time decided to adopt him, and already made known his intention to those about him, although he wished to complete this adoption only after his return to Rome, before the people and the pontiffs, according to the solemn forms of the *adrogatio*.

The choice, in fact, that Hadrian had just made, together with the uncertain health of the Emperor, his presence in Rome or at the gates of the city, in his palace at Tibur, consequently the facility for striking a blow, had encouraged the Roman aristocracy to resume their favorite practices;<sup>1</sup> they formed conspiracies, and so furnished victims. These tragedies are very obscure. It is certain that some executions took place, and that the Senate became exasperated; but it is by no means so certain that the most moderate of emperors had without reason renounced his moderation. These changes of view in the character and conduct of men of ripe age and experience take place only in the schools of the rhetoricians. The ruler who during twenty years had struck no one, who when offended by certain men, in place of punishing them was satisfied with writing to their province that he withdrew his friendship from them,<sup>2</sup> does not become an executioner all at once; he must continue to be what we know he was, an administrator of justice.

Dion imputes to him but two sentences of capital punishment, — at the beginning of his reign, that of the four ex-consuls, put to death by the Senate unknown to the Emperor; at the end, that of Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, who had disapproved, the historian



L. AELIUS VERUS CAESAR, HADRIAN'S  
ADOPTED SON.<sup>3</sup>

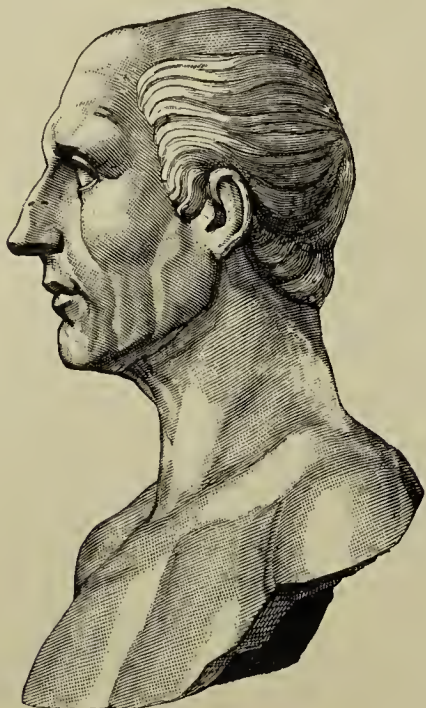
<sup>1</sup> They conspired even under Antoninus, the Emperor after the Senate's own heart; see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Dion, lxi. 23. "If he were absolutely forced to punish a citizen having a family, he moderated the penalty in proportion to the number of the children" (*Id.*, *ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.



says, the selection of Verus. Servianus, the Emperor's brother-in-law, had often shown himself unfriendly. When, at the death of Nerva, Hadrian hastened to inform Trajan of the latter's accession, Servianus had used every means to detain him, so that he might



L. JULIUS URSUS SERVIANUS,  
HADRIAN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW.<sup>3</sup>

not arrive before the courier whom he himself had despatched. Another time he had succeeded in estranging Trajan by making known to the uncle his nephew's debts. Hadrian, however, had not kept in mind these malicious acts, and on many occasions he had honored his brother-in-law by public marks of deference; Spartianus asserts even that he had declared Servianus to be worthy of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> At ninety years of age the latter was too old for such a pretension, without being wise enough to avoid the appearance of a dangerous ambition.<sup>2</sup> He doubtless limited his desire to this, that the Emperor should adopt his grandson. But Fuscus, who

was eighteen in 137, and consequently only fourteen or fifteen when the question of the succession to the Empire was mooted, could not be chosen by a man who saw already the premonitory signs of his end. Verus' increasing favor estranged Servianus, whom a third consulship in 134 could not satisfy. Fuscus, still less reserved, allowed himself to be unsettled by pretended prodigies promising him the sovereign power. Around these was doubtless formed a party capable of creating embarrassment to Verus and disorders in the Empire, or the sensible Emperor whom we know would not have caused this foolish boy to be put to death and anticipated the natural end of an old man on the very verge

<sup>1</sup> Spart., *Hadr.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Servianum quasi adfectatorem imperii, quod servis regiis caenam misisset, quod in sedili regio juxta lectum posito sedisset, quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonogenarius processisset . . . Fuscum, quod imperium praesagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret* (Spart., *ibid.* 23; cf. Dion. lxi. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Visconti, *Iconog. Rom.* vol. i. pl. 139.

of life. Nevertheless, these two executions are a blot on Hadrian's reign.

Spartianus mentions some other persons who on this occasion fell under the disfavor of the Emperor, — two individuals whom he forced to commit suicide, even some soldiers and freedmen “whom he persecuted.”<sup>1</sup> But were these acts mere outbursts of anger, or the execution of just sentences? From want of information we cannot reply to this twofold question. We learn, however, from Spartianus that the adoption of Antoninus disconcerted many aspirants, and that Catilius Severus, prefect of the city, who sought to pave his way to the throne, was deprived of his office; and in thus seeing the Emperor punish even freedmen and soldiers, we feel compelled to admit that we certainly have here the usual material of a real conspiracy.<sup>2</sup>

Much has also been said in regard to the misunderstanding which existed between Hadrian and the Empress. These domestic details have nothing to do with political history; yet as Dion quotes the cruel language of Sabina, and as it has even been inferred that her husband poisoned her,<sup>3</sup> we must point out here the improbabilities. In 120, while far away in Britain, Hadrian showed his affection or his esteem for her by dismissing Suetonius, one of the imperial secretaries, Septicius Clarus, a prefect of the praetorium, and several other officials who had failed in respect towards the Empress. There is nothing to assure us that she did not accompany him in all his travels; we know at

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Libertos denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est* (Spart., *ibid.* 15).

<sup>2</sup> Leaving out the only victims mentioned by Dion, — that is to say, the conspirators of 119, whose execution Hadrian regretted, and those of 137, who had as leaders an old man and a boy whom the Emperor ought to have spared, — we find named by Spartianus to justify the imputation of cruelty, only Plaetorius Nepos and Attianus, in regard to whom the expression *hostium loco habuit* (Spart., 15) seems to mean only “a dissolution of friendship” (cf. *Id.*, 23; see on Plaetorius Nepos, Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. 122 *et seq.*); Septicius Clarus, whom he dismissed for improper conduct towards the Empress; Titianus, *quem ut conscium tyrannidis, et argui passus est et proscribi*, which means confiscation of his estate; Umidius Quadratus and Catilius Severus, *quos graviter insecutus est*, which does not prove that they had suffered any penalty. Besides, Spartian forgets that in another chapter (24) he charges Severus with conspiracy. As regards Polyænus and Marcellus, *quos ad mortem voluntariam coegit* (15), we know nothing of them. We have spoken above of the cases of Apollodorus and the sophists, and we shall now see what is said in regard to Sabina.

<sup>3</sup> *Non sine fabula veneni defuncta* (Spart., 23). If the Empress was *morosa et aspera* (*Id.*, 11), he had the law to enable him to separate from her by a divorce; a crime was not necessary.



least that she was certainly his companion in the last, the grand tour in the East, — which certainly does not indicate that her pres-



ANTONINUS.<sup>2</sup>

ence was insupportable to him. The public were not aware of these family dissensions. Coins were struck bearing the double effigy of Hadrian and the Empress; inscriptions were carved, in which, under their united names, were the words: "To the benefactors of the city."<sup>1</sup> The apotheosis which Hadrian decreed her was only an official ceremony; but we have some of his private letters, which show a domestic life in which good feelings, not storms of anger, prevailed. One day he writes thus to his mother: "All hail, very dear and excellent mother! Whatever you

ask of the gods for me I ask the same for you. By Hercules, I am delighted that my acts seem to you worthy of praise! To-day is my birthday; we must take supper together. Come, then, well dressed, with my sisters. Sabina, who is at our villa, has sent her share for the family repast."<sup>3</sup> Another very friendly letter, written to Servianus, his brother-in-law, in the year 134, when he had just given him a third consulship, ends thus: "... I send you some cups of changing colors [iridescent glass], which the priest of the temple has given me. I have kept them quite especially for you and my sister, and I beg that you will use them on holidays. Yet take care that our Africanus" (doubtless some child of the family) "does not handle them with too great freedom."<sup>4</sup> Sabina's murder in 137 is therefore a supposed crime from which Hadrian's memory

<sup>1</sup> *Locupletatoribus municipii (Gabii)*. Orelli, No. 816.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved stone (nicolo of 62 millim. by 44) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,093. The letters A. V., engraved on this fine intaglio, have been added by a modern hand.

<sup>3</sup> *Dositheus*, sect. 15, *Corp. juris antejust.*, ed. Böcking, i. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Vopiseus, Saturn.* 8. Sabina, doubtless at this time with the Emperor, is not mentioned in this letter; but Hadrian's words are fresh proof of the intimacy then prevailing in the imperial family.

may be exonerated. But such fairness would not have suited the drawing-rooms of Rome, where calumnies had been current even against Plotina; where later many were in circulation also against the two Faustinas; and it is quite natural that malice should have pursued Hadrian in his private life with as much truth doubtless as it attacked him in his public career.

Verus lived only a short time after his adoption.<sup>1</sup> "I have leant against a crumbling wall," said Hadrian; and he



HADRIAN AND SABINA; OBTVERSE AND  
REVERSE OF A BRONZE COIN.

sought another successor. Dion relates that he called together at the palace the most important of the senators, and thus addressed them: "My friends, Nature has not granted me a son; but you by a law have permitted me to adopt one, knowing well that Nature often gives a father a child that is a cripple or imbecile, while by a careful choice one may be found who is well endowed both in body and in mind. Thus it was that I first chose Lucius, who was such that I could not have dared to hope that a son of mine might be his equal. Since the gods have removed him, I have chosen to take his place an emperor of illustrious birth, mild and prudent, readily accessible, whose age separates him equally from the rashness of youth and the indifference of old age, submissive to the laws and customs of our ancestors, ignorant of nothing that relates to government, and resolved to make an honorable use of power. I speak of Aurelius Antoninus, here present. While I know his profound aversion for public life, I hope he will refuse neither to me nor you to take on himself such a burden, and that, in spite of his contrary desire, he will accept the Empire."<sup>2</sup> These are indeed royal words, and the choice was decided by serious reasons. In seeking for this scene in Aurelius Victor, we see what the anecdote-mongers make of history.

Antoninus was neither a relative nor an intimate friend of the Emperor; it was necessary even to grant him some time that he

<sup>1</sup> He died Jan. 1, 138 (Orelli, No. 827).

<sup>2</sup> Dion, lxix. 20.



might make up his mind to accept what would be for him but gilded chains. He had no son living at this time, and Hadrian therefore made use of his superior authority to constitute a legal family for his successor, causing Antoninus to adopt the son of the Caesar recently deceased and also M. Annius Verus, whose great capacities had already struck the Emperor; and, playing upon the young man's name, Hadrian was pleased to term him "the very true," *Verissimus*.



AELIUS VERUS CAESAR, AS BONUS  
EVENTUS.<sup>1</sup>

These considerate selections, which gave to Rome two of her best rulers and to the world at large a famous man; this double adoption, guaranteeing the Empire during two generations from military revolutions, — cannot be attributed to a narrow and jealous mind. We must admire Hadrian's foresight and commend him for a somewhat uncommon virtue: he did not fear to choose successors who might probably eclipse his own fame.

The adoption of Verus had made victims; that of Antoninus only malecontents, among whom was the prefect of the city, Catilius Severus, who had taken steps for gaining the Empire.<sup>2</sup> The matter was serious, for Severus held Rome by his cohorts, the Senate by his connections, and his office gave him in reality the second place in the Empire. The recent severities had given him prudence; his intrigues were not very far-reaching, and he got off by giving up his office, which was not a very severe penalty.<sup>3</sup> But this indulgence will

<sup>1</sup> Statue found at Cumae (Museum Campana, Henry d'Escamps, *op. cit.* No. 91).

<sup>2</sup> *Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse doluerunt, speciatim Catilius Severus, praefectus urbi, qui sibi praeparabat imperium. Qua re prodita, successore accepto, dignitate privatus est (Spart., Hadr. 24).*

<sup>3</sup> Mention is made of other individuals whose execution Hadrian ordered and whom

surprise those only who on vague accusations believe in Hadrian's cruelty.

The affairs of the state being arranged, the Emperor desired to end his own. He suffered cruelly, and urgently demanded poison or a sword; and when these were refused him, he complained of not being free to take his own life, while he still had the power of condemning others to death. He died 10th July, 138, to the last scoffing at his physicians who had not been able to cure him.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before his death he had composed the famous lines:

“Animula, vagula, blandula,  
Hospes, comesque corporis,  
Quae nunc abibis in loca, —  
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,  
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.”<sup>2</sup>

This trifle was characteristic of the man who, when adopting Verus, said: “I am now about making a god!” and who would have willingly said with Rabelais: “I go to seek a great peradventure.”

We have thus, as we believe, placed in its true light the very original figure of this Emperor, and have restored to him the aspect which his unskilful biographers had defaced. Thus this lover of peace, who during a reign of twenty-one years did not make a single war, is the one of all the Emperors who maintained the most rigorous discipline in the legions and the profoundest tranquillity in the state.<sup>4</sup> This Athenian, in whom we do not seek to excuse a certain vice of the age, but who might readily be pardoned for somewhat of effeminacy,



L. AELIUS CAESAR.<sup>3</sup>

Antoninus saved. The adoption took place on the 25th of February, Hadrian's death on the 10th of July. Now he preserved up to the last moment all his clearness of intellect, and it is difficult to believe that if, in these four months and a half, he had pronounced a sentence of death, it would not have been executed.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐτέλεύτησε λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημῶδες, ὅτι “Πολλοὶ ἰατροὶ βασιλεία ἀπώλεσαν” (Dion, lxi. 22).

[<sup>2</sup> “Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,  
Guest and partner of my clay,  
Whither wilt thou hie away,  
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one, —  
Never to play again, never to play?” —

MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vii. 390.]

<sup>3</sup> Large Bronze, Cohen, No. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Disciplinam civilem non aliter tenuit quam militarem* (Spart., *Hadrian*. 22).



was more sober than Cato.<sup>1</sup> This traveller, who seems occupied only with the beauty of localities and monuments, this philosopher, who took pleasure in scholastic discussions, looked carefully after the civil



ANTONINUS.<sup>2</sup>

and the military administration and everywhere introduced admirable order. Vain, it is asserted, he yet disdained titles and pomp;<sup>3</sup> envious of all forms of talent, he furnished more occasions than any other for their exhibition; as a man of letters irascible and jealous,

<sup>1</sup> . . . ἡρίστα ἀνευ οἴνου (Dion, lxi. 7).

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> He did not like to have his name engraved on the edifices which he built. If many cities took it, if many monuments bore it (Spart., *Hadr.* 18-19), that was a municipal affair; and this kind of flattery belongs to all times.



he honored literature and pensioned learned men. In fine, if history had the means of investigating certain cruel acts which are imputed to him, it would probably show him only as a dispenser of justice. From the monument at Lambese, from Dion Cassius and Spartianus, we know what Hadrian required of his soldiers; from the *Periplus* of Arrian, what he demanded of his generals;



CIRCULAR MONUMENT AT BAALBEC.

from the *Poliorcetica* of Apollodorus, what he expected of his engineers; from inscriptions and medals, how much watchful solicitude he imposed on himself for the provinces. Pausanias has shown us how he embellished the cities, and Hadrian's Wall aids us to understand in what manner he defended the frontiers. The *senatus-consulta* preserved in the *Digest* give us the character of



his legislation,\* and the rescript respecting the Christians an example of his political wisdom. Lastly, when we consider that he made besides an important reform in the government and a code of Roman laws, we must indeed recognize in him the fruitful activity of a superior intellect, and not the sterile restlessness of an unquiet mind.

His reign marks, midway between those of Augustus and Constantine, the second period of the imperial monarchy, that which was at once the most brilliant and the most fortunate. We have the proof of this in the ruins which are still to be seen in the



ONE OF THE TEMPLES OF BAALBEC (HELIOPOLIS), ON A BRONZE COIN.

Syrian desert and even in the African oases. These endless colonnades, these streets of monuments, these remains of gigantic temples, and the majestic ruins of Palmyra, Baalbec, and Gerasa, which belong to the age of the Antonines, were the work of a rich and prosperous people. "After the great terror of the year 1000," says a writer of the Middle Ages, "and the return of confidence and security,

men began everywhere to rebuild the basilicas, and the world put on the white robe of the churches."

The same was the case in the Empire, and from analogous causes. This efflorescence of art, which was exhibited in splendid edifices from the banks of the Rhone to those of the Euphrates, was

the product of the Roman Peace. For two centuries there had been no foreign wars, or at least no cause for serious disquietude on the frontiers; in the interior, except the disorders which followed the death of Nero, no civil wars; in the cities, no outbreaks. Rendered content with the existing social order by the advantages of clientship, with the municipal institutions by the habits of benevolence or the ostentatious beneficence of the rich. with the Empire by the prosperity which arose out of the development of industry, trade, public works, and colonization, the populace had no wish to disturb that twofold aristocracy of birth and wealth which filled all the public offices, paying in lavish



FELICITY.



FESTIVITY.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> FELICITATI AVG. COS. III. P. P. Vessel with rowers. HILARITAS Pontifex Maximus TER COS. Silver coins.

gifts for the gratification of its power and its pride. Hadrian's reign is the culminating point of this prosperity, in which, thanks to him, his successor could keep the world; and—an exception to the general rule—his contemporaries, if not at Rome, at least in the provinces, were aware of this and were grateful for it. Among the twelve hundred coins and medals which are known to be of Hadrian's time,<sup>1</sup> very many were the expression of official flattery; but doubtless some of them reflected the true feeling of the people,—those, for example, which bore the inscription, *Felicitati Aug.* On one of these coins Hadrian and Public Felicity, both standing up, are holding hands;<sup>2</sup> on another, Festivity (*Hilaritas P. R.*), represented by a fair young woman, puts aside with her hands the veil from her face, that the joy of the Roman people may be seen,—pleasing signs, in which all was surely not deception.

Could Hadrian have done more? We have made it a cause of blame, in the case of the first Emperor, when he was “master of the world's game,” that he did not give his Empire the form of a solid pyramid, constructing it, so to speak, in layers resting one upon another,—at the base, the curiae of the city, with liberty of action in municipal affairs; above these, the provincial assemblies, with powers peculiar to themselves; higher still, the Senate, in close relations with the provincial aristocracy and recruited therefrom; at the summit, the Emperor, protected and held in check by monarchical institutions.

Hadrian might have accomplished what Augustus dared not undertake, and with greater ease, because he understood the provinces better, and had in them a more genuine popularity, and because they at that time contained a greater number of Roman citizens. But he had only a vague feeling of this necessity, and his institutions tended only to introduce into the government more order and justice, without diminishing the absolute power; so that after him, as before him, the fate of the Empire depended upon the virtues or the vices of the man who was its head. In this direction Hadrian is lost in the crowd of his predecessors, not one of whom had been wise enough to see that populations which have known liberty, were it but for a day, may indeed

<sup>1</sup> Or at least this is about the number of those which have been described by N. Cohen.

<sup>2</sup> Cohen, *Hadri.* 230 and 268.



consent to give up to a ruler the administrative authority when they receive order in return; but that they soon become disaffected if they are obliged to relinquish also the care of their provincial and municipal interests. Then indifference quickly takes the place of affection; and when the days of misfortune come, they have neither the disposition nor the strength to defend a master who, after taking away their political liberty, has also taken away their civil rights.



METOPÉ, FROM THE PARTHENON.<sup>1</sup>

Yet we cannot demand of a man that he should be a strong reformer; to be just, we must limit ourselves to inquiring how he lived in the position where he was placed, and what advantage he was able to derive from the circumstances which history had created. From this point of view, in spite of his imperfect ideal of government, Hadrian remains a great monarch. And if I were asked what Emperor did the most good and most deserves to be imitated, I should reply, "This firm and intelligent ruler, who showed no cowardly complaisance towards soldiers and people;<sup>2</sup> who had tolerance for ideas but none for abuses; who made law

<sup>1</sup> After Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage arch. en Grèce*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Dion Cassius, lxi. 6 and 16.

prevail, and not arbitrary rule ; who organized a formidable army, not for useless conquests, but in order that behind this impregnable rampart the genius of peace might fertilize all the sources of the public weal ; who, finally, as foreseeing at the last hour of his life as he had been skilful during his reign, secured to the Roman world two generations of excellent leaders." When the glory of rulers is measured by the happiness which they have given to their subjects, Hadrian will stand forth the first of the Roman Emperors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [So Merivale calls him (*Hist. of the Romans*, vii. 251) "the best of the imperial series." —ED.]



## CHAPTER LXXXI.

ANTONINUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS (138—180 A.D.).

### I. — ANTONINUS (138–161).

“I COULD wish,” says one of the old French chroniclers, “that there had fallen to me a share of eloquence like that of the ancients; but one draws with difficulty from a source whose waters are dried up. The world grows old, the edge of our acuteness is blunted, and no man of this age can resemble the orators of the past.” This misgiving would suit the compilers of the *Augustan History*, for they have neither the flame which warms and illumines, nor the patient courage of those who know at least how to collect materials for the more skilful. The biography of Antoninus Pius by Julius Capitolinus is even more meagre than that of Hadrian by Spartianus. It contains in a few pages the history of a reign of twenty-three years, and reduces us to say of this Emperor these words only, which are sufficient for his fame, but too few for our curiosity,—*transiit benefaciendo*, he passed through life doing good.<sup>1</sup>

As early as the time of Xiphilinus the chapter in which Dion Cassius related the history of this Emperor was lost; and if we wish to judge of the value of the abbreviators who are at present our principal resource, let the narrative of Aurelius Victor be read, telling how the adoption of Antoninus took place. It will then be understood why such writers naturally remind us of the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, and it will cause no surprise that we have boldly criticised these puerile tales. “. . . Hadrian summoned the Senate to create a Caesar. As the senators were hastening to the assembly, the Emperor chanced to notice

<sup>1</sup> His name at first was Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; after his accession he was called T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus; he was born Sept. 19, 86, near Lanuvium. For the consular *fasti* of 138–147, see Lacour-Gayet, in vol. i. of the *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*.

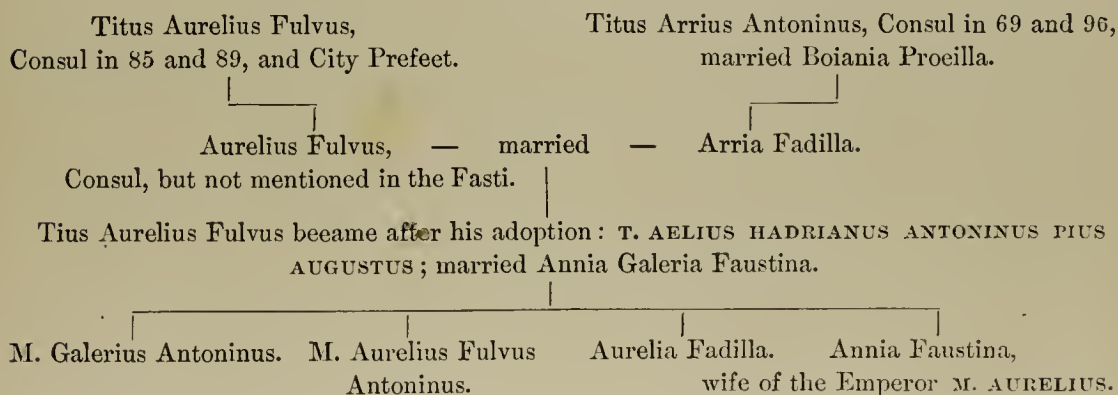
Antoninus, who was aiding with his arm the tottering steps of an old man, his father-in-law or his father. Filled with admiration at the sight, Hadrian caused the necessary ceremonies to be at once performed for the adoption of Antoninus<sup>1</sup> as Caesar, and he ordered the immediate execution of certain senators who ridiculed the new prince. After Hadrian's death the Senate, unmoved by the prayers of Antoninus, refused to decree the late Emperor the honors of apotheosis, so much afflicted was it by the loss of so many members. But when suddenly were seen to reappear alive those whose decease had been deplored, the senators, after having embraced their friends, ended by granting what had been at first refused." These are the fabulous stories which malignity had circulated and folly accepted, and from them we have the measure of respect due to such intellects.



GALERIUS ANTONINUS, SON OF ANTONINUS PIUS AND THE ELDER FAUSTINA.<sup>2</sup>

The ancestors of Antoninus, originally from Nîmes,<sup>3</sup> had exercised the highest functions at Rome and had made themselves remarkable by the dignity of their lives. Five times had the consular fasces been

#### <sup>1</sup> GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ANTONINE FAMILY.



<sup>2</sup> Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 40.

<sup>3</sup> From the time of Tiberius this city has possessed the *jus Latii*, which gave Roman citizenship to those of the inhabitants who had held there any municipal office.



borne by that house; and it was said of the Emperor's father that he was a man of integrity and of pure morals,<sup>1</sup> and of his grandfather that no cause of reproach could be found against him (*homo sanctus*). This latter person, Arrius Antoninus, was that friend of Nerva who commiserated the latter because he exchanged a private condition for that of emperor. Antoninus inherited these vir-



FAUSTINA, WIFE OF ANTONINUS PIUS.<sup>2</sup>

tues and this moderation. He was consul (120), proconsul of Asia (128 or 129), judge (*judex*) of one of the four Italian provinces, and member of the imperial consistory, — functions which prove that for a long time past Hadrian's attention had been drawn towards him. His wife, the elder Faustina, had borne him four children, two of whom were sons and had died before his accession. Of his two daughters he had lost one during his proconsulship of Asia; the other was the younger Faustina, who married Marcus Aurelius.

An able manager of his patrimonial estate, Antoninus augmented his fortune by economy, not by usury, for he lent money below the legal rate; he employed it in helping his friends much more than on his own pleasures, and on becoming emperor he appropriated his income to the service of the state. On his accession he refused the *aurum coronarium* which Italy wished to present him, and accepted only half of what was offered by the provinces; so that he was obliged to draw from his own resources a part of the *donativum* due on this occasion to the

<sup>1</sup> *Homo castus et integer* (Capit., Anton. i.) His paternal grandfather had been prefect of the city; Arr. Antoninus was his maternal grandfather.

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Capitol, Corridor, No. 2.

soldiers and people. He possessed taste and eloquence, and governed his own mind as he ruled his own house, — like a master who desired that everything should be well ordered. He was a good listener, deliberated slowly, and having made a decision adhered to it with firmness, — a trait of character essential in a ruler. He valued popularity at its just worth, acted only in view of duty, and felt no anxiety about the rest ; he was a truly wise man.<sup>1</sup>

He had, however, one defect unfortunate in a monarch, — he was over-careful about small things, and “would quarter a grain of cummin.”<sup>2</sup> It was maintained that he was miserly ; but only slanderous tongues assert it, and these insinuations were perhaps the price paid for his great renown. At the *consilium* he always favored the milder measures, and during his reign preserved this disposition for showing mercy,<sup>3</sup> — a royal virtue when it pardons an offence against the Emperor’s person, but dangerous if this kindness of heart weaken the authority of the law. Like all those whom we know as the Antonines, he lived less like an emperor than as a wealthy private person, permitting liberty of speech to his friends, even acts of turbulence to the people. During a scarcity of corn the crowd threw stones at him ; he replied by a speech. In the house of one of his friends he admired certain columns, and asked from whence they came. “When you enter another person’s house, be deaf and dumb,” replied the other, rudely ; and the Emperor showed no anger.



FAUSTINA, WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>4</sup>

Arriving in Smyrna, during Hadrian’s reign, as proconsul, he alighted at the house of Polemon the rhetorician, at that time

<sup>1</sup> See the portrait which Marcus Aurelius has traced of him in his *Meditations*, i. 16, and the phrase : *Καὶ τὸ παῦσαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν μερακίων*, which very learned men construe differently ; what is not doubtful is that it contains a eulogy of Antoninus.

<sup>2</sup> *Κυμνοπρίστης* (Dion, lxx. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit* (Capit., Anton. 10). *Procuratoribus quos Hadrianus amnaverat in senatu indulgentias petit* (ibid. 6).

<sup>4</sup> Bust found in the Villa Hadriana. Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 39.



absent; when night came, the sophist returned, and complained so bitterly of the trouble caused him by this visit that Antoninus quitted the house at once. Some years after, an actor came to make complaint that Polemon, who presided over the Olympic games, had driven him from the theatre in broad day. "But," said the Emperor, "he drove me out in the middle of the night."



MARCUS AURELIUS AS A BOY.<sup>1</sup>

Another time the courtiers were displeased to see Marcus Aurelius shed tears on account of his preceptor's death; the Emperor reproved them sharply. "Let me be human," he said to them; "neither philosophy nor the imperial power ought to dry up the heart." More than once he was heard to repeat that he wished to act towards the Senate as he had desired, when a senator, that an emperor should act towards him,--a thought which seems the precursor of the

<sup>1</sup> Bust in the Capitol, Corridor, No. 70.

grand moral precept which Alexander Severus later inscribed on the walls of his *lararium*: "Do not to others what you would not they should do unto you."<sup>1</sup>

Many munificent acts of his might be related, many liberal gifts made to private individuals, to the people of Rome,<sup>2</sup> to provincial cities, which he helped or adorned; in fact, we see from many inscriptions that he followed the example of his predecessor.<sup>3</sup> All this shows an excellent disposition, and on this point there is no question; but was the Emperor as admirable as the man? It is difficult to answer; for while the unanimous praises that are bestowed upon his virtues lead us to give him in pagan history the place held by Saint Louis among the kings of France, his political history is so obscure that, as head of the Empire, he appears before us a half-effaced figure, whose outlines are quite indistinct.

He was fifty-two years of age,—a time of life which gives full maturity without taking away anything from strength or activity. Hadrian's activity had seemed sometimes restless and noisy; that of Antoninus was silent and discreet. His predecessor was always in motion; he for nearly a quarter of a century did not leave Rome or its environs, except for a rapid tour in Asia. The war-loving Trajan had been succeeded by a lover of peace; the nomadic Emperor was followed by a sedentary prince. It is the law of contrasts, pleasing to peoples as to artists. Some of the objectionable features of a reign



No. 1.



No. 2

GOLD COINS OF ANTONINUS, BEARING  
LIBERALITY ON THE REVERSE.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Jesus Christ had long before put the idea in clearer and more precise form.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> Nine times during his reign the two hundred thousand citizens who shared in the public distributions received each from three to four hundred sesterces (Eckhel, vii. 11–27), and the gifts under this head reached 640,000,000 sesterces (*Chronogr.*, ed. Momms. p. 647). In spite of these and other donations, in spite of the expenses of the state, which for the army alone amounted each year perhaps to \$50,000,000, Antoninus left a sum of 2,700,000,000 sesterces, or from \$100,000,000 to \$120,000,000 (Dion, lxxiii. 8); and this means that the financial system was excellent, since during the twenty-three years of his reign the imperial budget must have had a surplus of receipts amounting to something like \$5,000,000. As regards the army expenses, see Vol. IV. p. 388, note 2; only it is necessary to increase the figures for Antoninus' epoch, when there were thirty legions, in place of twenty-five.

<sup>3</sup> Thus he finished the aqueduct begun by Hadrian in New Athens (*C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 549).

<sup>4</sup> No. 1: LIBERALITAS AVG. II. Antoninus, seated on a stage; Liberality, standing, scattering from her cornucopia some coins into a man's hands who stands at the foot of the stage. No. 2: LIBERALITAS VII. COS. IIII. Liberality, standing, holding a tessera and a wand.



conceal from the eyes of the crowd its advantages, and men try another system for the sole reason that change is pleasing.

Hadrian died in great unpopularity with the Senate. We have seen that the reproaches against him arose from the silent displeasure of the Fathers against an Emperor whose errant court removed far from them the honor and the reality of the government, so that the nothingness of their authority was no longer hidden behind appearances. They wished to refuse him apotheosis; that is to say, to declare him a tyrant and to annul his acts. Antoninus refused to be a party to this act of injustice, which besides would have invalidated his own rights. His entreaties would perhaps not have triumphed over the ill-will of these senators, with their petty hatred and jealousy, if behind the gentle Emperor they had not perceived an orator persuasive after quite a different fashion, — the soldier, who would not suffer this outrage to be done to the memory of his beloved chief. According to Dion, all opposition dropped from fear of the army. Hadrian was accordingly placed in the rank of the gods; Antoninus erected a temple to his memory at Puteoli, appointed flamens to it, and instituted in his honor a quinquennial festival. The apotheosis and temple were for the defunct Emperor affairs of imperial etiquette. These honors done to the memory of Hadrian were not a ground for the senators to decree the title of *Pius* to the new monarch, but as they had already exhausted in compliments all the epithets of praise in the language, they found only this one left to employ; and since the new Emperor had not sympathized with them in their hatred against Hadrian, in giving him this title they connected themselves with him in his filial respect. A clever change of front like this was all the art which remained to the descendants of the great generals of Rome, now become the most daring of courtiers.

During this reign of twenty-three years the Empire enjoyed profound peace, and the grateful subjects regarded the state as a great family governed by the best of fathers.<sup>1</sup> A contemporary, Pausanias, suggests that the Emperor be called “the Father of the human race.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quae incredibili diligentia ad speciem optimi patrisfamilias exsequebatur* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.* 15).

<sup>2</sup> Πατήρ ἀνθρώπων (lib. viii. cap. 43). See Vol. IV. p. 448.

In his desire to avoid all noise or motion which might derange the fair order introduced into the Empire by his predecessor, Antoninus resumed the rule followed by Tiberius of prolonged tenures of office, and even extended it further. He retained in office the functionaries who had been appointed by Hadrian; when he had to make a new choice he selected only experienced men, and often, says his biographer, he allowed them to die at their posts.<sup>1</sup> Thus his friend M. Gavius Maximus during twenty years commanded the praetorian cohorts; Orfitus<sup>2</sup> held the prefecture of the city as long as he was willing, and was superseded only at his own request; some governors remained seven years, even nine years, in their provinces. P. Pactumeius Clemens, legate of Cilicia under Hadrian, was raised to the consulship, but still kept his command in Cilicia.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor changed the official rank of the province rather than not leave in it the magistrate most acquainted with its wants. This was excellent policy, provided it were not carried too far; for the most active man grows inefficient when his duties continue always the same. As life becomes extinct in the midst of stagnant waters, the administration which does not maintain a certain process of renovation soon reaches senility. The reign of Antoninus will perhaps furnish us a proof of this.

Civil law owes much to him,<sup>4</sup> and the *Pandects* contain many fragments of his ordinances or rescripts. One is well known under the name of the Antonine Fourth, a lien established in favor of the adopted upon the estate of the adopter. As proof of his liberality of mind, we may mention also the decision which permits the children of a new citizen, when they did not agree to choose the same nationality with their father, to preserve their rights of inheritance. Formerly a Greek, on obtaining the *jus civitatis*, but whose children continued provincials, was obliged to bequeath his possessions to some citizen, or leave it to the treasury as property escheated.<sup>5</sup> Some publicans had exercised the right of wreckers.

<sup>1</sup> Capit., *Anton.* 5 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> Serv. Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus had been raised to this office by Hadrian to replace L. Catilius Severus.

<sup>3</sup> See Borghesi, viii. 393, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Multa de jure sanxit* (Capit., *Anton.* 12). On the legislation of Antoninus, cf. Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, pp. 101-114, Lips. 1857.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, viii. 43.



"I am the sovereign of the world," he replied to the shipwrecked crew who appealed against this act of cruelty; "but the Rhodians have made a law of the sea: let us decide in accordance with that." And the treasury was proved in the wrong.<sup>1</sup> By a rescript difficult in its application, but very just in spirit, he authorized the husband to bring a suit against the wife as an adulteress only in case he himself had preserved conjugal fidelity.<sup>2</sup> The condition of slaves was also ameliorated. Antoninus declared that the master who, without good cause, had killed his slave should be punished with banishment or death; that he who had maltreated one unduly should be forced to sell him, and that he should not be able either to repurchase him or to insert a damaging clause in the contract, such as this: "Prohibited from freeing him;" or this: "He, or she, shall be delivered up to prostitution." One of his rescripts runs thus: "It is for the interest of masters that a protection against hunger, cruelty, and intolerable injustice be not denied to slaves who justly implore it."<sup>3</sup>

In the financial administration he retrenched useless expenditures, such as pensions paid to those who "preyed upon the state" without rendering it any service; he sold some of the imperial villas, jewels, valuable furniture, — dead capital, of which he made the public treasury the beneficiary. Like Hadrian, he cancelled the arrears of taxes, and Marcus Aurelius and Aurelian did the same in their reigns. His economy gave him the means of developing the alimentary institution and of aiding cities desolated by fire or earthquake, as Rome, Antioch, Narbo, and Rhodes. We make no mention of buildings erected by him or in his reign in Greece and Ionia, in Syria and at Carthage,<sup>4</sup> at Lambese, several of whose monuments date from that epoch, at Tarragona for its harbor, at Gaëta for its lighthouse, at Nîmes for the arena and Pont du Gard, at Baalbec for its temple of the Sun.<sup>5</sup> All the Emperors were great builders. It was a debt which men paid in Rome to the entire people by decorating the city with new edifices; to

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, xiv. 2, 9: *Hoc idem divus Augustus judicavit*.

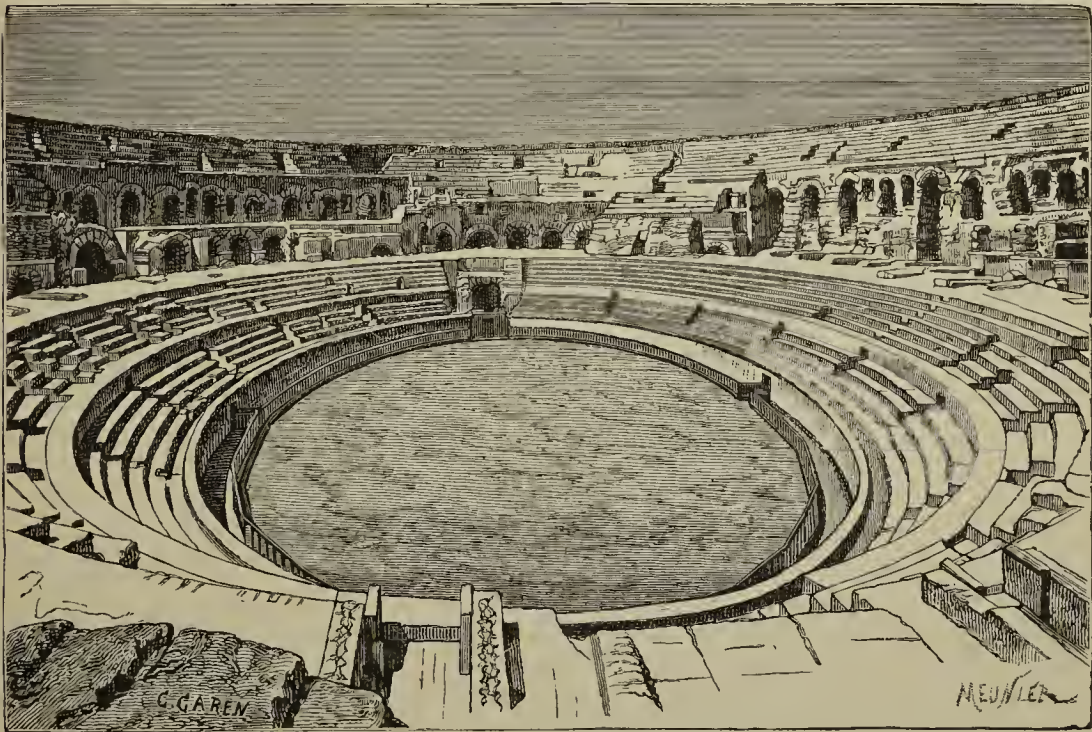
<sup>2</sup> [This is done in English law by what is called the "interference of the Queen's Proctor," who stops proceedings for divorce in such cases. — ED.]

<sup>3</sup> *Instit.* i. 8, sect. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, viii. 43.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription of Antoninus' reign, between 147 and 161, shows that Gerasa had dedicated a propylon and a portico "to the health of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius" (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, i. 218).

the poor, in giving them work; to their predecessor in erecting to his honor the temple required by the apotheosis; in the provinces it was the condition of their popularity. Besides, each Emperor, like Oriental sovereigns, wished to have his dwelling free from any memorial of the past. For this reason Nero abandoned the palace of the Caesars, Vespasian destroyed the House of Gold, and Antoninus did not desire to occupy the Tiburtine Villa. The age of the Antonines was a fortunate time for architects, since men were incessantly pulling down in order to rebuild. But it



INTERIOR OF THE ARENA AT NÎMES.

must be repeated that, outside of Rome, constructions were especially the work of the rich cities, where they were paid for from the municipal revenues, by the gifts of the citizens, and often by an imperial subvention. This observation is the more necessary in regard to this reign, because Marcus Aurelius said of his adoptive father that he was not fond of building.

Like Hadrian, Antoninus founded new chairs of rhetoric and philosophy in many cities,<sup>1</sup> granting to their incumbents a stipend, paid by the state when the local resources were insuffi-

<sup>1</sup> *Rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit* (Capit., Anton. 11).



cient.<sup>1</sup> To money he added honors. In the small cities, five physicians, three sophists, and three grammarians, in the large, ten physicians, five sophists, and five grammarians, were exempted from municipal offices;<sup>2</sup> and he honored even declamation by giving, in the year 143, the consulship to two famous rhetoricians, — the



THE DISCOBOLUS OF MIRON, FOUND IN THE VILLA HADRIANA.<sup>3</sup>

Greek Atticus Herodes and the Latin Cornelius Fronto. But poets did not seem to him so useful; at least, he reduced the pension that Hadrian had bestowed on the lyric poet Mesomedes.

Nevertheless there were senators found willing to conspire against this Emperor who made the public weal the sole object of his government. This time no one doubted, as was the case under Hadrian, the reality of the crime; the Fathers, who, personally or by their freedmen acting as historians, have made the reputation of the Emperors among posterity, admit for the favorite of the Senate a peril the existence of

which they had denied for the friend of the provincials. No executions took place. Atilius Titianus suffered only the loss of his property; Priscianus took his own life; Avidius Cassius, who

<sup>1</sup> Zumpt, *Ueber den Bestand der philos. Schulen in Athen*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xxvii. 1, 6, sects. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> Vatican, Hall of the Biga, No. 618.

openly conspired under Marcus Aurelius, had at least the desire to overthrow Antoninus; it is certain that Celsus, lastly, whom we do not know, made a serious attempt, for, twenty or thirty years after, the younger Faustina recalled the circumstance to her husband.<sup>1</sup> The Senate showed great zeal in seeking out the guilty persons; Antoninus stopped them. "What shall I gain," he replied to those who pressed him to show severity, — "what shall I gain beyond making it evident that a certain number of my fellow-citizens hate me?"

Antoninus did not like war. "It is much better," said he, "to save one citizen than to slay a thousand enemies." Personally he undertook no expedition;<sup>2</sup> but his lieutenants were compelled to wage wars of defence, — in Africa against the nomadic tribes, on the frontier of the Carpathians and of the Danube against the Dacians, who had taken refuge in the mountains, and against the German tribes established in the neighborhood of Pannonia. Capitolinus tells us that the Jews again made a disturbance, and that there were some outbreaks in Egypt and in Greece. A disturbance in Greece so soon after Hadrian is inexplicable, unless there was some conspiracy, — that of Celsus, for example,<sup>4</sup> — of which we know neither place nor date, or some popular tumult to which Lucian seems to make allusion (157);<sup>5</sup> and a revolt of the Jews would have been, it seems, very difficult after the exhausting wars which Trajan and Hadrian had waged against this people.<sup>6</sup> In Egypt the affair was more serious, since the prefect Dinarchus was killed (147–8); and so, an ancient writer says, the Emperor felt obliged to make a journey to the East,<sup>7</sup> — the only time that he went farther from Rome than Campania.

MAURETANIA.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vulcacius Gallicanus, *Avid. Cass.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> . . . Πόλεμον μὲν Ῥωμαῖος ἐθελοντῆς ἐπηγάγετο οὐδένα (Pausanias, viii. 43).

<sup>3</sup> Large bronze of Antoninus, Cohen, 686.

<sup>4</sup> Capit., *Avid. Cass.* 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Pègr.* 19: ἄρτι δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπειθεν ἀντάρασθαι ὄπλα Ῥωμαίοις.

<sup>6</sup> The coins of Alexander cited as proofs by Munter (*Die Juden unter Hadrian*, p. 98) do not lead to a positive conclusion, and the war of the Parthians, by the aid of which Gratz (*Jüdische Gesch.* vol. iv. No. 20) tries to explain the matter, took place only three years before the death of Antoninus.

<sup>7</sup> Letronne (*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 250) places this revolt in the years 148 and 149. Cf. Malala, *Chronogr.* xi. 280, ed. Niebuhr, and Aristeides, i. 350, ed. Dind. The mention of this Emperor's journey in the East, of which Capitolinus says nothing, is



In Britain, Lollius Urbicus, who had distinguished himself in Judaea under Hadrian, repressed the Brigantes (140); and finding himself too much hemmed in behind the *Vallum Hadriani*, carried the line of defence of the province northward, as far as Agricola's rampart, now called Graham's dike, which was made of sods, and crossed the island from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth.<sup>1</sup> As a reward for his services, Lollius obtained later the highest office of the state, that of prefect of the city. The Parthians were preparing an expedition against Armenia, but a letter from Antoninus stopped them. The Lazi, the Quadi, and the Armenians accepted the kings whom he gave them;<sup>3</sup> his protection sheltered the Greeks on the coasts of the Euxine against the Scythians of the neighborhood, and Armenia against the brigandage of the Alani. Appian relates that



ANTONINUS GIVING HIS  
HAND TO THE KING OF  
THE QUADI.<sup>2</sup>



ANTONINUS PLACING  
THE TIARA ON THE  
HEAD OF THE KING OF  
ARMENIA.<sup>4</sup>

he saw at Rome the deputies of Asiatic tribes who begged to be received as subjects of the Empire; Antoninus refused: this was the policy of Augustus and Hadrian. There came also embassies from Bactria and India, — a proof that commercial relations continued with these distant regions.

Collectively, the wars under Antoninus were of no importance, and the outbreaks without peril. "At that time," says his biographer, "all the provinces were flourishing . . . and no Emperor was so much respected by the Barbarians." A contemporary, the rhetorician Aristeides, shows what confidence this long peace inspired: "The entire continent is in a state of repose, and men no longer believe in war, even when it is raging at some far off-point."<sup>5</sup>

found in Malala, an author of little authority, it is true, and one who has heaped together many stories, but who perhaps found this fact in the *Chronicle of Antioch*. Cf. Waddington, *Chronol. du rhéteur Aristide*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Large Bronze, Cohen, 759.

<sup>3</sup> See in Eckhel, vii. 3, 15, in Cohen, *Anton.* Nos. 758 and 759, the medals with the inscription: *Rex Quadris datus Armeniis*, which are placed between 139 and 145. The latter of these two authors says (*Anton.* p. 279) that the decadence of art begins to be apparent under Antoninus in the medals, especially the silver ones.

<sup>4</sup> Large Bronze, Cohen, 758.

<sup>5</sup> Aristeides, i. 3, ed. Dind.

More respectful than Hadrian towards the old usages and ancient legends, he considered an element of social stability was to be found in matters which his predecessor regarded only with sceptical curiosity. He sought, as Augustus had done, to reanimate expiring patriotism by bringing again into fashion the early traditions of the Roman people; some of his coins represent the flight of Aeneas, the foundation of Alba, Mars and Rhea, Romulus and the first *spolia opima*, Horatius Cocles defending the bridge, or Aesculapius arriving in the isle of the Tiber under the form of a serpent (Glycon). To make the gods more secure on their tottering altars, he scrupulously performed his pontifical functions, drew to the temples the crowd eager for spectacles, and earned this inscription: "The Senate and Roman people to the very good, very great, and very just Emperor Antoninus Augustus, *ob insignem erga caerimonias publicas curam ac religionem.*"<sup>2</sup> At the same time he tried to put a stop to Jewish proselytism by renewing the penalties declared under Vespasian against those who practised circumcision on persons not of Hebrew race.<sup>3</sup>



THE SERPENT  
GLYCON.<sup>1</sup>

Seeing in him this disposition, it might be feared that he would treat the Christians cruelly. This, however, was not the case. Antoninus followed towards them the policy of his adoptive father, and granted them a virtual toleration, — which was, however, interrupted from time to time by some too-zealous magistrate condemning a victim impatient to die. The rescript that has been ascribed to him by Eusebius cannot be regarded, at least in its present form, as authentic. It is certain that neither this Emperor nor his predecessor ever proposed to give citizenship in the Empire to the new religion; but neither did they wish to persecute it. Hadrian from philosophic indifference, Antoninus

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a coin of Antoninus. Bronze coin of Ionopolis (Mionnet, *Descr. de Méd. ant.* vol. iv. p. 550, No. 5). The human-headed serpent is the personification of Glycon, the new manifestation of Aesculapius, whose worship received in the time of the Antonines great extension.

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, No. 844. This inscription is of the year 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11: *Circumcidere Judaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur; is non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur*; now this penalty was death. *Medico qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi qui se sponte excidendum praeibuit.*



from goodness of heart, felt repugnance at shedding blood for matters of faith. "During the reign of Antoninus," says Orosius, "peace reigned in the Church."<sup>1</sup>

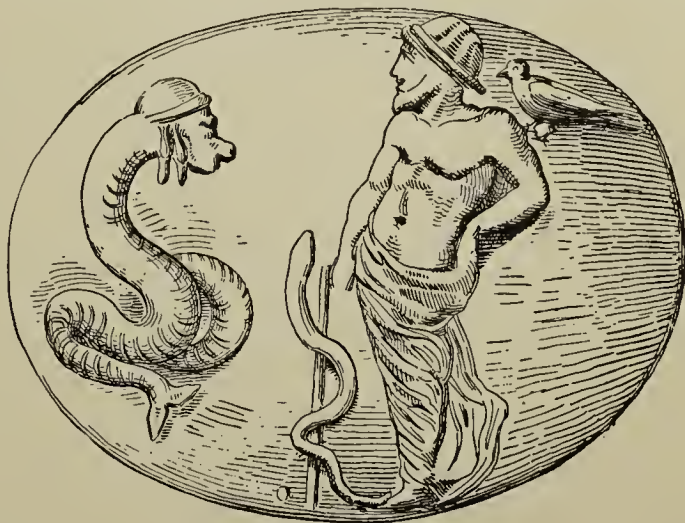
At this period the faith found a clever and bold defender. Justin Martyr represents in the history of the Empire that decisive moment when Christianity, which with Saint Paul had confessed the impotence of reason,<sup>2</sup> and with the early successors of the Apostles had lived in darkness and seclusion, comes forth into the day and proudly claims its rights as rational doctrine. Then what had been contemptuously styled "the religion of slaves and women, of children and old men," stood its ground, not only before the executioner, but before the man of science, and sought to absorb into itself pagan wisdom purified by the new revelation.

Justin was a Greek of Palestine who had explored all the philosophic systems before arriving at Christianity, and has himself related, in a dialogue after the manner of Plato, and not without elegance, the different stages of his mental progress. He does not burn, as so many others did, what he had formerly adored. Christianity is in his eyes a new philosophy, more certain, more useful than the ancient; but he does not abjure that which had preceded it. "Socrates," he says, "was an incarnation of the λόγος, or divine reason infused into humanity, λόγος σπερματικός, for every human mind contains a portion of it. Christ was another more complete, because he is Truth itself. When Plato's master sought, by the power of truth, to rescue men from the demons, the latter caused him to be put to death as impious and atheistic. They do the same in our case. Atheists we are against your gods, but not against the true God, the Almighty Father whom we adore, with the Son whom he has sent to teach us, with the army of the good angels, his satellites, and the prophetic Spirit. Your wise men taught certain dogmas which we expound in a more divine manner, and of which we alone prove the truth. We say, like Plato, that God has created and ordered everything; like the Stoics, that the world will perish by fire; like your poets and philosophers, that the good will be rewarded and the

<sup>1</sup> Orosius, *Hist. sac.* ii. 46: *Antonino Pio imperante, pax ecclesiis fuit.* Cf. Euseb., *Hist. eccles.* iv. 13, 26; Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Dion, lxx. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Epist. Rom.* i. 21-24; *1 Cor.* i. 19; iii. 18; *Gal.* i. 8.

wicked punished. When we call Jesus Christ the divine λόγος, the Word of God, we merely apply to him the name given to Mercury. . . . If it is said that he was crucified, in that even he resembles those sons of Jupiter who, according to you, have had torments to suffer; that he was born of a virgin, he has in common with Perseus; that he healed the lame, the paralytic, the infirm, and raised the dead, is what you relate of Aesculapius. . . . All who have lived conformably to reason are Christians. Such were, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and those who resemble them; as in our own time Musonius,<sup>1</sup> and among the Barbarians Abraham, Hananiah, Mishael, Elijah, and many others." Christianity was therefore the completion, and not the contradiction, of natural revelation.



AESCULAPIUS AND GLYCON.

Justin defends himself, and he also attacks. He contrasts the God of the Christians with the incestuous and adulterous gods of paganism, and God's holy commandments with the scandalous lessons of heathen mythology. In contrast to the old state of society, legalizing its vices by taxing them and raising altars to Antinous, he places the new state, which, instead of impure festivals and bloody sacrifices, has for its ritual prayer, almsgiving, the kiss of peace, the brotherly communion of bread and wine; and he exclaims: "Cease, then, from imputing to saintly men your scandalous orgies and those of your gods!"

As preaching to the poor and oppressed, the Gospel would have been preferable; as pleading before a pagan tribunal, the defence was skilful, and not without truth and grandeur. We find even in the opening words of this *Apology* the masculine

<sup>1</sup> It is in the second *Apology*, sect. 8, that the name of Musonius occurs; the others are found in the first, sect. 21.



boldness of a man who accepted the combat with the masters of the world:—

TO THE EMPEROR TITUS AELIUS ANTONINUS, PIUS,  
AUGUSTUS, CAESAR;  
TO HIS SON VERISSIMUS, PHILOSOPHER;  
TO LUCIUS, PHILOSOPHER,  
SON OF CAESAR BY BIRTH AND OF ANTONINUS BY ADOPTION,  
A PRINCE FRIENDLY TO LITERATURE;  
TO THE SACRED SENATE AND TO THE ENTIRE ROMAN PEOPLE,  
IN THE NAME OF THOSE WHO, AMONG ALL MEN,  
ARE UNJUSTLY HATED AND PERSECUTED;  
I, ONE OF THEM,  
JUSTIN . . . HAVE WRITTEN THIS DISCOURSE.<sup>1</sup>

This mode of address, this language borrowed from the Stoics, but a true utterance of his own manly soul,—“You can kill us; you cannot harm us,”—proceeded from a believer ready and destined to give his life for the faith.

Since Trajan's time Christianity had gained so much importance that Justin's first *Apology* was read by the Emperor himself; it did not however decide him to violate the laws of the Empire, of which he was guardian, by publishing an edict of toleration. The Christians therefore continued exposed to the violence of the populace in cities where they showed too much zeal against idols, too much ardor for martyrdom; and under this gracious Emperor some Christians perished. A letter from the faithful of Smyrna to the churches of Asia, which Eusebius has preserved, vividly depicts one of these frightful yet sublime scenes. A Phrygian named Quintus, belonging to the country where Cybele exacted sanguinary worship, persuaded certain Smyrniots and Philadelphians to invite their own martyrdom that they might the sooner enjoy eternal bliss. They were twelve in number, and showed heroic courage in the midst of the atrocious tortures which the executioners taxed their ingenuity to vary. One of the martyrs, Germanicus, was conspicuous by his contempt for the tortures. The proconsul, Stratius Quadratus, felt repugnance at striking men who appeared to him guilty only of religious obstinacy; he would gladly have saved them. “Have pity on your youth,”

<sup>1</sup> The first *Apology* was written about 150; the second at the end of 160 or the beginning of 161.

he said to Germanicus; but the latter, eager for death, irritated the beasts in order to be more quickly torn in pieces. At the critical moment the Phrygian yielded and abjured his faith. As the people were thus defrauded of one victim, cries arose to replace Quintus by Polycarp. He was at this time an old man of eighty, the most illustrious of the bishops of Asia. The imperial governor, who knew him well, had never disturbed him, and Polycarp had been able, without denying his faith, to reach that great age. He did not believe that martyrdom should be sought; and when the popular fury had burst forth, aroused by the rash utterances of Quintus, the bishop withdrew from the city and took shelter in a remote house. Messengers were sent to take him; he could have escaped, but was unwilling to do so. The proconsul made every effort to extort a word which would give him an excuse to spare the venerable man. "Swear," said Quadratus, "by the fortune of Caesar; recant and say, 'Away with the godless!' and I will set you free." The old bishop looked sadly around upon the heathen multitude, and then up to heaven, and said, "Away with the godless!" But the proconsul could not persuade him to go on. "I am a Christian," Polycarp said; "suffer me to explain to you my religion. Give me a day; I will make you acquainted with it." The proconsul making answer that it was the people whom he must convince, Polycarp replied: "I do not refuse to instruct you, because I have learnt to render to men in high position the honor which is their due; but this crowd does not deserve my making a defence before them."

The frenzied multitude meanwhile continued their demand that this enemy of the gods, this man who wished to abolish their religion and their sacrifices, should be thrown to the lions; but the president of the games objected that he was not empowered to do so, because the combats with the wild beasts were now ended. They then urged that the bishop should be burned; and as this demand was complied with, the crowd ran to find wood at the baths and shops. They arranged the pile, and the old man quietly took his place in the midst of it. When it was ignited, the wind carried the flame behind him, forming a sort of arch above the martyr's head, "just as it fills the sail of a ship; and he seemed to us to look like gold or silver tried in the furnace. At the same time we



perceived a sweet odor of precious perfume." Finally, the executioner despatched him by a stroke of his sword.<sup>1</sup>



ANTONINUS.<sup>2</sup>

The procedure established by Trajan, "If they are accused and convicted, let them be punished," had been followed. The governor had not referred the matter to Rome, nor had he need so to do. The people had cried, "The Christians to the lions!"

<sup>1</sup> The date of Saint Polycarp's martyrdom has given rise to much discussion. M. Waddington (*Vie d'Aristide*, p. 235) places it on 23d February, 155. M. J. Réville (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, iii. 369) brings it down to 166. As regards the matter of date, doubt still exists; but it is of no consequence to general history whether Polycarp died under Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. Doubtless the Emperors were never aware of his martyrdom, and our judgment of them cannot be modified by it.

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Museum of Naples

and the Christians voluntarily offering to gratify the crowd, their blood had stained the arena.

According to Justin Martyr, such scenes took place in several parts of the Empire. His *Apology* would lead us to believe the number of martyrdoms greater than it really was, for exaggeration is one of the characteristics of writings of this kind.<sup>1</sup> But it is certain that the hatred against these "blasphemers of the gods" increased among the people with their increase in number; that the faith, more confident, became rash; and that the imperial officers must have been driven far beyond what intelligent and sceptical administrators would have desired, seeing they were but slightly concerned about Jupiter, and much interested in preserving the public peace.

Did the Emperor know anything of these distant matters? It is very doubtful; it is not even certain that he knew in the last years of his reign of the execution of the Greek Ptolemaeus and of two other Christians which was ordered by the prefect of Rome. They were insignificant persons who had never been sought after, and who had however delivered themselves up. Their fate interested no one, and in that world so cruel, so prodigal of human life, a capital punishment was by no means so rare as to cause any stir in the city.

To the blows which struck them the Christians responded by secret and irritating menaces. The Sibyl assigned to Antoninus only three successors, and announced the destruction of Rome, of Italy, and of the Empire, as about to take place in 195: "Oh, how wilt thou weep then, when despoiled of thy brilliant laticlave and clothed in mourning garments, oh, thou haughty Rome, daughter of old Latinus! Thou shalt fall never again to rise. The glory of thy legions, with the proud eagles, will disappear. Where will be thy might? What people will be thy ally among those whom thou hast enslaved to thy follies?"<sup>2</sup> To see so much hate accumulated upon both sides makes it clear that between the ancient and the new society an abyss had yawned into which victims must fall.

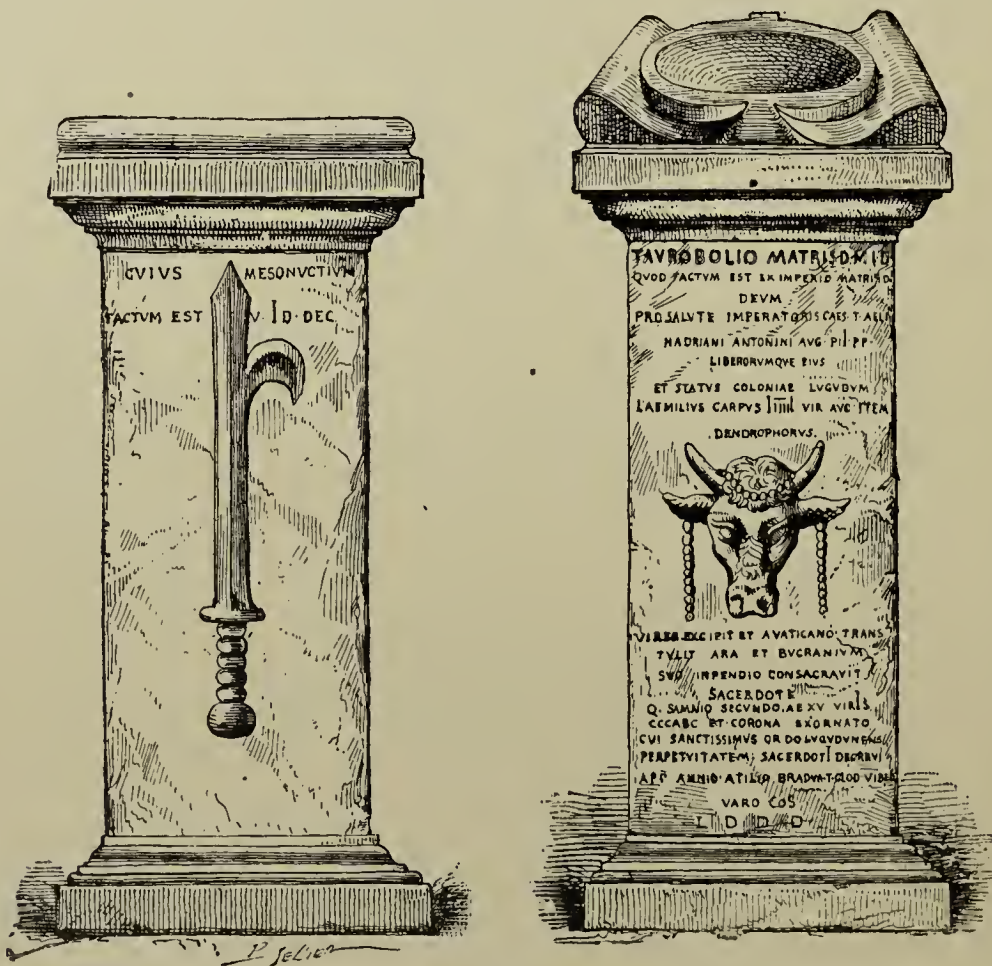
If we imperfectly know what Antoninus did when Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* i. 39; ii. 12; *Dial.* 39, 110, 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Carm. Sib.* viii. 70 et seq. Cf. Renan, *L'Église chrétienne*, p. 533.



we know well what the enemies of the Empire did after his time; hence the question arises: Ought Antoninus to be held responsible for a part of the misfortunes of Marcus Aurelius? By the strict discipline introduced into everything, Hadrian had prepared a peaceable reign for his adopted son. Did not Antoninus bequeath to his successor many dangers by the mildness of an administration which, hating to punish, closed its eyes and allowed everything to become slack? When we find, after his reign, the legions in a state of insubordination, the frontiers insecure, the Parthians again



TAUROBOLIC ALTAR FOUND AT LYONS ON THE HILL OF FOURVIÈRES IN 1704; FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS.

threatening, the Barbarians crossing the Rhine, the Danube, the Alps, and reaching as far as Aquileia on the route to Rome, and as far as Elateia in the heart of Greece, we have the right to think that Antoninus had been too fond of his ease, too desirous to gratify the Senate by pursuing a course of conduct different from that which his predecessor had followed. Never did the

Barbarians see him moving slowly along the frontiers to make sure that on the Roman side they were well guarded, and that on the other there were no menacing combinations forming which ought to be combated by policy or arms. Never did he appear in the midst of the legions to examine with attentive eye their wants and their discipline, to join in their exercises, and by his presence to maintain their valor. Inactive behind the ramparts of their camps, they no longer could handle their weapons or support fatigues; and the cruel severity of Avidius Cassius was required to rouse the troops from their inactivity, to break off their use "of the baths and the dangerous pleasures of Daphne, to tear from their heads the flowers wherewith they adorned themselves at the festivals."<sup>1</sup>

Antoninus was now an old man; he had attained his seventy-fourth year, and without being attacked by any disorder, his physical strength was decreasing. Therefore prayers for his health were offered in the temples. At Lyons a monument exists which recalls the fact that three months before the Emperor's death the great expiatory sacrifice of those days (the *taurobolium*) had been there offered.<sup>3</sup> In March, 161, he was carried off by a three days' illness. Just before his death he gave to the tribune of the guards as the password: "Patience and resignation (*aequanimitas*)."<sup>2</sup> This was leaving the world like a philosopher; but did not Antoninus always live as he died?



FAUSTINA, WIFE OF ANTONINUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Fronto (*Epist.* II. i. 128, and *Principia hist.* p. 206): . . . *seditioni, contumaces, apud signa infrequentes . . . praesidiis vagi . . . ac palantes, de meridie . . . temulenti; ne armati quidem sustinendo adsueta, sed impatientia laboris armis singillatim omittendis in velitum atque fundiorum modum seminudi . . . ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga verterent . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Vatican, found at the Villa Hadriana.

<sup>3</sup> "For the welfare of the Emperor and of his sons and for the prosperity of the colony of Lugdunum" (*De Boissieu, Inscr. ant. de Lyon*, p. 24).



He has been set down as a complaisant husband, and the same thing is said of his successor; for both the Faustinas have an extremely bad reputation.<sup>1</sup> These charges are easy to make and difficult to refute; and it seems as if malignity, finding nothing to say against the Antonines personally, indemnified itself by an attack upon the two Empresses. I shall not undertake to certify to their virtue; but the accusations with which they have been pursued for seventeen centuries are vague or absurd, and it does not seem to me to have proceeded from philosophic resignation that their husbands supported what is termed the shame of the



HEXASTYLE  
TEMPLE.<sup>2</sup>



BRONZE MEDALLION OF  
FAUSTINA THE ELDER.



PUELLAE  
FAUSTINIANAE.<sup>3</sup>

imperial family. There was not merely affection in these words of Antoninus to Fronto respecting the elder Faustina: "In the discourse which thou hast devoted to my Faustina I have found even more truth than eloquence. For it is the fact, — yes, by the gods, I would rather live with her at Gyaros than without her in the palace!"<sup>4</sup> Beneath love I perceive esteem. When, shortly after his accession (141), he lost the mother of his four children, he refused to marry again,<sup>5</sup> and after the fashion of the time, he built a temple at Rome in her honor.

<sup>1</sup> *De hujus uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam libertatem et vivendi facilitatem quae ille cum animi dolore compressit* (Capit., *Anton.* 3). I do not see that these words clearly allude to the adultery of Faustina; this silent grief of mind might have had for its cause only a certain tone of behavior, and not definite acts.

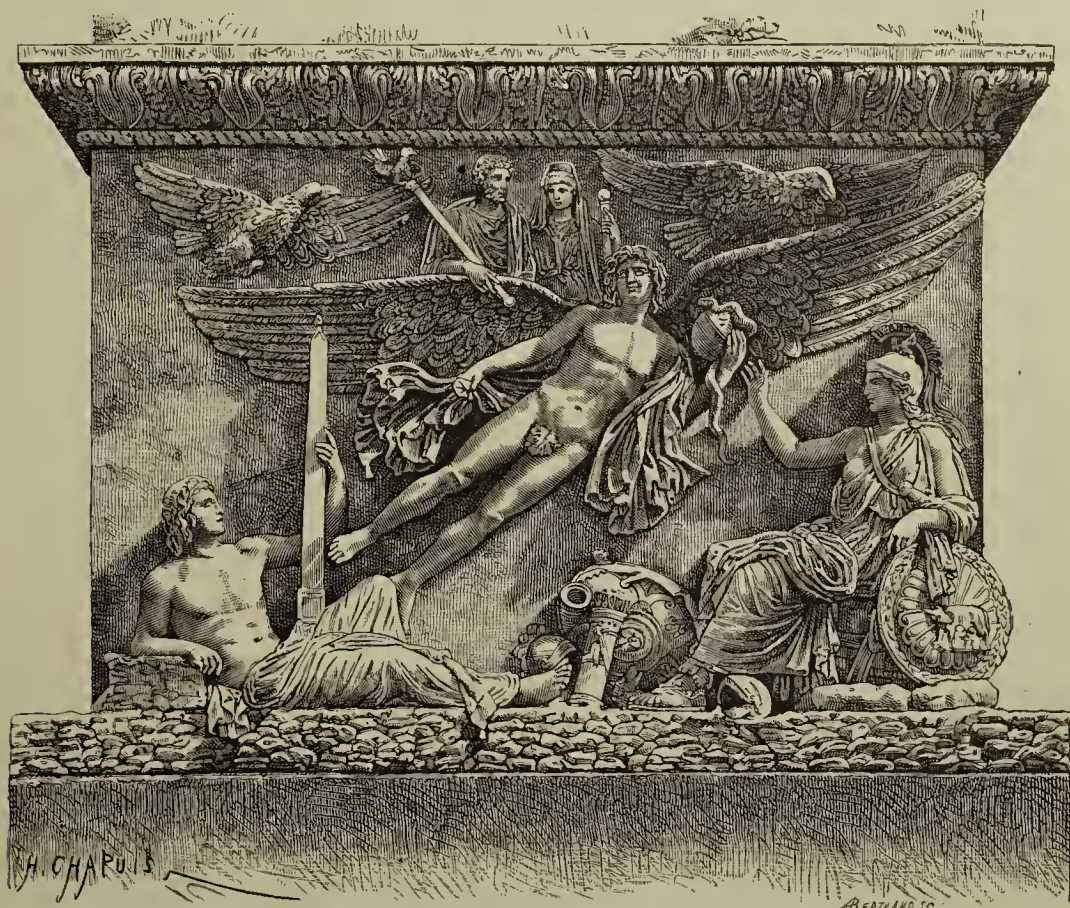
<sup>2</sup> The reverse of a denarius of Faustina the Elder.

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of a gold coin of the elder Faustina (Cohen, No. 107).

<sup>4</sup> Fronto, *Epist. ad Ant. Pium*, p. 163, Naber. Gyaros was a desert island and place of banishment.

<sup>5</sup> Yet it must be told that, following the Roman usage, he took a concubine (Capit., *Anton.* 8; Marc. Aurel., *Meditations*, i. 17; and Orelli, No. 5,466). Julian, in the *Caesars*, 9, says of him: "A moderate man, except with regard to Venus."

But when he himself was dead and accounted a god, the Senate, to preserve the remembrance of this mutual affection, connected the married couple by re-dedicating the temple: "To the god Antoninus and to the goddess Faustina." Its magnificent ruins still exist at San Lorenzo in Miranda, a church constructed in this temple, which was much admired by the Romans.<sup>1</sup>



APOTHEOSIS OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.<sup>2</sup>

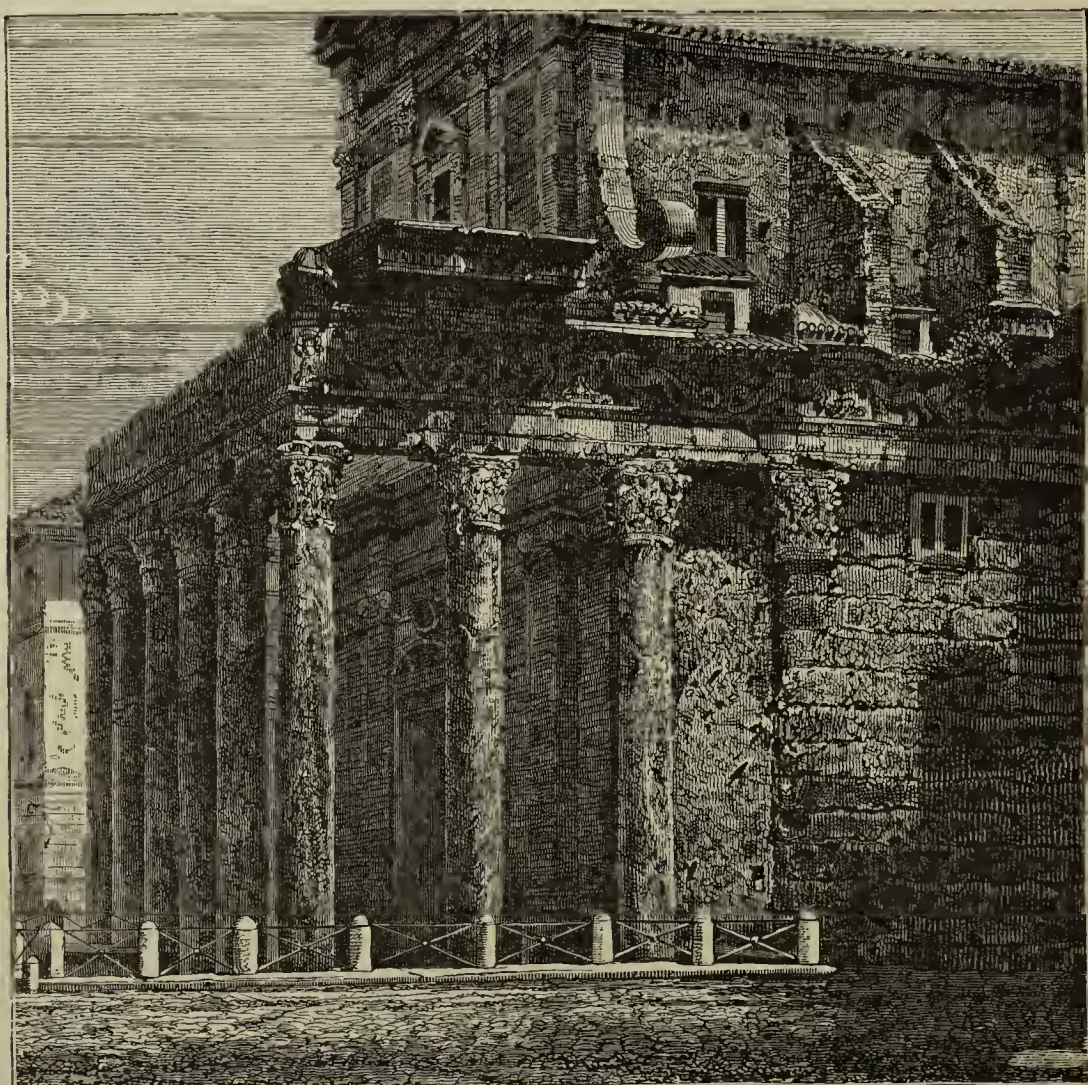
He did what was better than giving Faustina priestesses and statues of gold, — he consecrated her name by a charitable foundation for the benefit of girls, the *puellae alimentariae Faustinianae*. A medal bearing the Empress's image shows on the reverse Antoninus surrounded by young children, with these words in the

<sup>1</sup> There remain of it the cella, ten columns in *cipollino* marble, 52½ feet in height, with an entablature and frieze in Parian marble on which is cut in relief the inscription *Divae Faustinae*. The other words, *Divo Antonino*, were engraved on the architrave after the Emperor's death (Orelli, No. 868). These fine ruins have been lately cleared. What is called the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus belongs neither to this Emperor nor his time. This work was doubtless the anonymous later compilation of the Roman administration, a sort of official postal guide.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief from the pedestal of the Antonine Column. — Vatican.



exergue: *Puellae Faustinianae*; and to his last hour he supported and extended the institution of the *pueri alimentarii*, which saved



REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA, BEFORE THE RECENT  
DEMOLITION OF SAN LORENZO.

poor families from despair, preventing them from having recourse to the ancient and abominable custom of abandoning new-born children.<sup>1</sup>

When Antoninus perceived his end drawing near, he ordered the golden statue of Victory, which always stood by the Emperor's bed, to be carried into the room of his son-in-law and adopted son, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher.

<sup>1</sup> We have the proof of this from inscriptions of 149 (Cupra Montana), of 150 (Urbino), and from medals of the years 151, 160, and 161.

## II. — MARCUS AURELIUS.

LET us not be deceived by this title of "philosopher." We are about to pass from a most tranquil reign into a history of storms. Whatever may have been said, it is not true that in his domestic relations Marcus Aurelius had the patience of Socrates or the imbecile blindness of Claudius; but this friend of the gods and of humanity will see let loose upon the world every sort of scourge, — inundations, pestilence, famine; this lover of peace will live in the midst of continual wars, which will cost the provinces innumerable captives, carried off by the Barbarians; lastly, this gentle Emperor will be forced to carry out implacable severities, this just man will shed innocent blood. The contrast between the sentiments of the philosopher and the actual life of the Emperor gives to the public career of Marcus Aurelius a singularly tragic interest.

His family came originally from the municipium of Succubo<sup>1</sup> in Spain; he himself was born at Rome April 26, 121. His grandfather, made patrician by Vespasian, had been twice consul and prefect of the city. The Emperor's life, as a boy, was austere. From the age of twelve he assumed the philosopher's cloak and manifested the severest Stoical simplicity, working without intermission, eating little, and sleeping on the bare ground; it was not without much entreaty that his mother, Domitia Lucilla,<sup>3</sup> prevailed upon him to use a bed on which sheepskins had been stretched. After his adoption by Antoninus, when eighteen, he continued to



THE YOUNGER FAUSTINA,  
DAUGHTER OF ANTONINUS  
AND WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *La Ronda*, or *Sucubi*, in the province of Granada, near Cordova. His name was *Marcus Annius Verus*; after his adoption he was called *Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar*; after his accession, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus*.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette of Roman production, found in the Swedish island of Oeland (a communication of M. Léouzon Le Duc). A coin of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, has been found in Finland. Cf. *Bull. de l'Assoc. scientif.* Jan. 12, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Lucilla was descended from Domitius Afer. Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii. 35.



attend his masters. As emperor he heaped upon them honors and rewards; several of them became consuls,<sup>1</sup> to others he erected statues. Their images were placed among his Lares, and after the death of any one of them it was his custom to sacrifice annually at the tomb and to keep it decorated with flowers.

One of these persons, the philosopher Rusticus, did him the service of combating the detestable taste which Fronto had at first engrafted on his pupil, — those affectations, those conceits which are found in the letters of Marcus Aurelius to his first master. “I have read a good deal this morning,” he wrote to him one day, “and I have noted ten figures, or subjects of comparison.” At another time: “I send you an idea which I have developed this morning, and a commonplace of the day before yesterday . . .; to-day it will be hard for me to make anything else than the thought of last evening. Send



DOMITIA LUCILLA,  
MOTHER OF  
MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>2</sup>



MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>4</sup>

me three thoughts and ten commonplaces.”<sup>3</sup>

What an education for an emperor! Later, he said: “Rusticus turned me aside from the false paths into which the sophists enter and from the affected elegancies of rhetoric. To him I owe it that I never lightly give my assent to skilful speech-makers; and he it is who put into my hands the commentaries of Epictetus.”<sup>5</sup>

Being of a feeble constitution, he regulated his life minutely, not to exhaust its powers more rapidly than nature demanded; and he followed the directions of his physicians, among whom was Galen, as an obligation imposed upon him of preserving for his soul's use the temporary covering in which the gods had inclosed it. Chaste and sober, he knew not that which men call “pleasure;” or rather, he found a pleasure superior to all

<sup>1</sup> Thus the philosopher Junius Rusticus was twice consul and prefect of Rome; Fronto had already held the fasces.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze Coin struck at Nicaea.

<sup>4</sup> Large bronze.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. ad Marc.* ii. 9, and v. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Med.* i. 7.

others in devotion to duty,<sup>1</sup> in that unceasing study of himself by which he sought to attain perfection. Marcus Aurelius is the moral hero of pagan antiquity.

He had an adopted brother, Lucius Aurelius Verus, son of that Aelius Verus who had been at first designated as Hadrian's successor. Instead of keeping this young man in the obscurity in which he had hitherto lived, Aurelius made him his colleague and son-in-law, so that the state had for the first time two masters, "although the Senate had conferred the Empire on one only." However, Verus took the part of a lieutenant, not of an equal. He found his advantage in doing so, having more taste for pleasure than for power. It is said that through him Rome again saw scenes like those of Nero's debauchery: drinking-bouts in low taverns, street-brawls, extravagance in the shows, play, and feasting, as much as six million sesterces spent in a day; but fortunately, no cruelty. Besides, the elder Emperor's gravity of life made amends for everything and protected the honor of the imperial house, less endangered, perhaps, than has been said. Fronto and Dion Cassius give, in fact, quite



LUCILLA, DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND WIFE OF LUCIUS VERUS, IN THE CHARACTER OF CERES.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He wrote to Fronto: *Verecundia officii res est imperiosa* (*Epist. ad M. Ant. de fer. Als.*). This is in other words the constant thought in the *Tὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν*.

<sup>2</sup> Capitol, Salon, No. 19.



a different idea of Lucius;<sup>1</sup> and in one of his letters the young man felicitates himself on having learnt from his master freedom and the love of truth much more than the knowledge of fine language.

The two Emperors had made as a grant to the armies, by way of gift of happy accession, the enormous sum of twenty thousand sesterces to each soldier.<sup>2</sup> This ransom of the Empire was now inevitable, and at the present time it was an act of prudence; for Antoninus had bequeathed to his successor war on all the frontiers. The late Emperor's dying moments had been troubled by threatening visions. "In the delirium of fever," says his biographer, "he talked only of the Empire and of the kings who threatened

it." In fact, scarcely had the excitement of the festivals celebrated in honor of the new reign passed away, than news came of an incursion of the Moors into Spain, already disturbed by an insurrection of the Lusitanians.



VOLOGESSES III. (FACE AND REVERSE).<sup>3</sup>

In Gaul, seditions agitated the Sequani; in Britain, the Picts overran the country, and most serious of all, the legions wished to induce their commander, Statius Priscus, to take the purple. Disturbances had also broken out in the East. Vologeses had long been making preparations for war. In 162 he threw his Parthians into Armenia, where they destroyed a Roman army, and into Syria, whose legions were overcome; this province was in danger, Cappadocia was threatened, Asia Minor lay defenceless with all her wealth before the swift cavalry of the Great King.<sup>4</sup>

In face of these perils Marcus Aurelius showed resolution and

<sup>1</sup> Fronto, *Epist. ad Verum*, lib. i. and ii.; Dion, lxxi. 1: ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλλήλότερος. Neither Eutropius (viii. 5) nor Sextus Rufus (20) reproaches him; and if his letters to Fronto (*Ad Verum imp.* lib. ii. epist. ii. p. 129, edit. of Naber) on the Parthian war show little modesty, they also prove that he did not pass all the campaign in pleasures.

<sup>2</sup> Probably twenty thousand sesterces (\$1,000) to each praetorian, but much less for the legionaries.

<sup>3</sup> Obverse: head of Vologeses III.; behind, B. On the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΟΛΛΓΑΣΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Tetradrachm of "the king of kings, Arsaces Vologeses, the just, the illustrious, the friend of the Greeks." Vologeses seated, to whom the city presents a sceptre. Silver coin; the Parthians did not make gold coin.

<sup>4</sup> The dates of all these movements cannot be given.



LUCIUS VERUS (VATICAN, GALLERY OF STATUES, NO. 420).





activity. Statius Priscus, recalled from Britain, that his fidelity might not remain exposed to too severe temptations, was replaced by a leader whose name was of good augury for a command in that country, Calpurnius Agricola.<sup>1</sup> Priscus was sent into Cappadocia, while a skilful general formed from the best troops of the legions of the Danube and Rhine war battalions (*vexillationes*), which he made haste to march thither.<sup>2</sup> Another went to drive back the Catti; and the governor of Belgica, Didius Julianus, who made so poor an emperor, drove away the Chauci from his province. At Rome the fugitive king of the Armenians had been received with honor; he had been presented with the senatorial laticlave and the consulship: this was a promise of help. Strong forces were, in fact, sent to the East; Marcus Aurelius even chose to have his colleague go thither.

Instead of placing himself at the head of the expedition with that juvenile ardor and inexperience which would have embarrassed the veteran generals, Verus remained, by his brother's order, at Antioch to collect the reserves and munitions of war<sup>3</sup> and to hold the neighboring provinces in check, while his lieutenants pushed on in front. The ablest of them, Avidius Cassius, was a Syrian, a hard, ambitious man, who was said to be a descendant of Caesar's assassin;<sup>4</sup> he was not at all displeased to hear himself called Catilina, and he would willingly have been looked upon as at least a new Marius. He was pitiless in all that concerned discipline. On an expedition he allowed no baggage, severely punishing those who brought anything more than bacon, biscuit, and vinegar. For some act of violence towards the inhabitants of the province, the guilty were fastened up over a large fire and perished both from suffocation and the flames. On one occasion some auxiliaries surprised a body of Barbarians and destroyed them. They had attacked without orders, and Cassius ordered the centurions to be crucified. "Who assured you," he said to them, "that it was not

<sup>1</sup> The new general nevertheless seems to have fallen back from the rampart of Antoninus to the Vallum Hadriani, where an inscription has been found bearing his name (Orelli, No. 5,861). Later on, Marcus Aurelius sent five thousand five hundred Iazyges cavalry into this province (Dion, lxxi. 14 and 16).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.* p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, lxxi. 2: *Tὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων.*

<sup>4</sup> He was originally from Cyrrhus, and his father, the rhetorician Heliodorus, had been, under Hadrian and Antoninus, prefect of Egypt. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr d'Égypte*, i. 129.



a snare, and that the honor of the Roman army would not be compromised?" There was much indignation felt at this severity; a mutiny broke out, and the whole army gathered angrily around the general's tent. He stepped forth unarmed. "Strike me!" said he; "and add this crime also to the subversion of discipline." All at once returned to obedience. The writer from whom we derive these details ends his narrative thus: "He deserved to be feared because he had no fear himself."

Such was the man whom Marcus Aurelius had given to his brother as lieutenant, and such should a commanding officer be. "I have intrusted to him," he wrote to a prefect, "these legions of Syria who are living amid the pleasures of Daphne. You know him; he has all the severity of those whose name he bears, and he will re-establish that ancient discipline without which an army cannot exist."

The day after his arrival, Cassius proclaimed by sound of trumpet that the soldier seen at Daphne should be ignominiously discharged, and he expelled from the camp all that savored of luxury or effeminacy. Continual drills, frequent reviews, not for mere parade, but severe inspection, a threat to keep the army the whole winter under tents, had in a short time restored to these effeminate troops the look of veteran legions, and Cassius, feeling himself now their master, took the offensive. We do not know the incidents of this war, which lasted four years and extended along the whole frontier from the Euxine to the Persian Gulf. Mention is made of numerous successes gained by the Romans, of the capture, by the skilful Priscus, of Artaxata, the principal fortress of Armenia, whose king afterwards returned into his territory as a vassal of Rome, and of a great victory near Zeugma, on the Euphrates, which opened to the legions a way to the very heart of the Parthian empire.<sup>1</sup> It was Trajan's expedition repeated, — the same triumphs, the same conquests: that in the north of Mesopotamia with Edessa and Nisibis, the invasion of Assyria and Media, the taking of Ctesiphon and burning of the king's palace, the destruction of Seleucia after an immense slaughter of its inhabitants; but also the same march back, saddened by hunger, thirst, and the death of a large number of soldiers. Had

<sup>1</sup> Lucian (*De hist. conscrib.* 19–21 and 28–9) speaks of several battles.

Cassius adopted better measures than Trajan, or had the war of extermination made upon the Jews by Hadrian suppressed one of the most effective causes of revolt in those regions? We know not; but Vologeses begged for peace (165), which he had disdainfully refused before the beginning of hostilities, and he gave up the northern part of Mesopotamia, which the Romans still kept at the end of the reign of Commodus. By this acquisition — the only one needful to be made east of the Euphrates — the Roman influence in Armenia was consolidated. We have already pointed out how thence, by means of their allies, they held in check the Armenians, the tribes of the Caucasus, and by their own power the empire of the Parthians. The two Emperors celebrated a triumph, at which they took the titles of Parthicus, Armeniacus, and Medicus.

LUCIUS VERUS ARMENIACUS.<sup>1</sup>TRIUMPH OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS.<sup>2</sup>

These successes resounded far into Asia, and Roman commerce took advantage of them to extend its connections. The Chinese annals make mention about this time of an embassy sent by an Emperor Antoninus to the Son of Heaven. These ambassadors, unknown to our Roman authors, were according to all appearance merchants who for their own advantage had assumed a political character. In exchange for elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, and tortoise-shell offered to Houang-Ti, they received a great quantity of the silk which used to be sold in the Empire for its weight in gold.<sup>3</sup>

During the Parthian war Marcus Aurelius had remained at Rome, in order to provide speedily for all its wants. He showed much deference to the senators, coming in from his Campanian villa to attend their deliberations, and never leaving the senate-

<sup>1</sup> L. AVREL. VERUS AVG. ARMENIACVS IMP. II. TR. P. III. COS. II. Bust of Lucius Verus on a fine bronze medallion, a recent acquisition of the *Cabinet de France*.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze Medal, Cohen, No. 388.

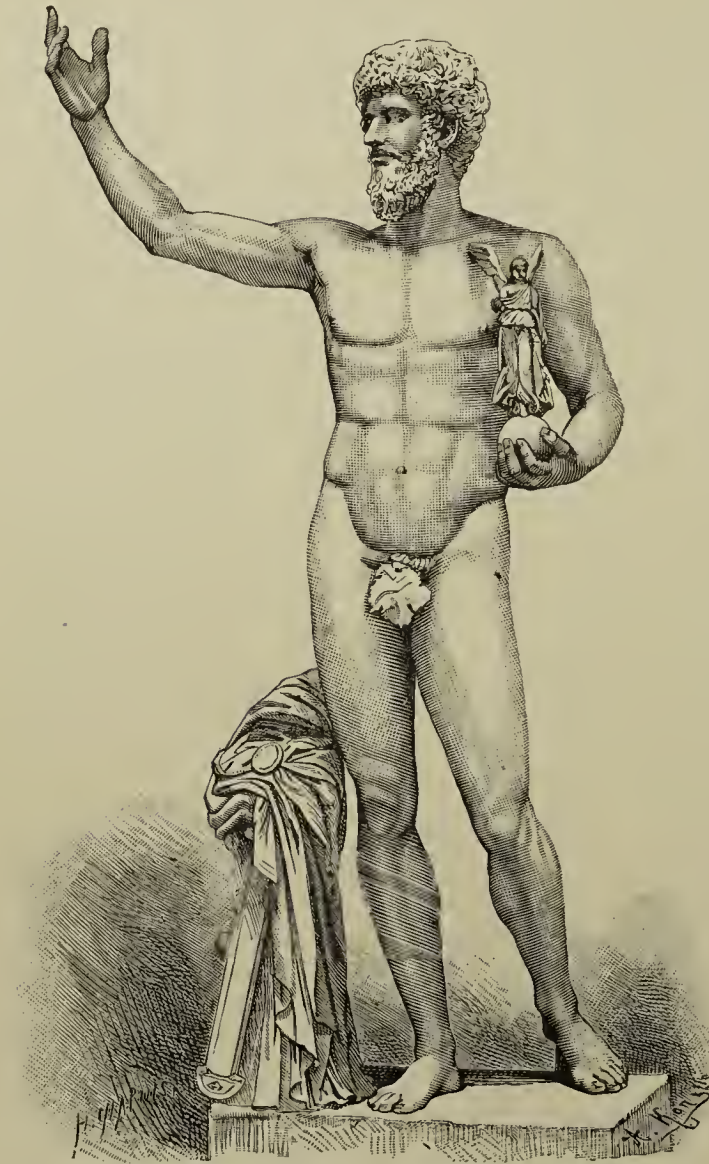
<sup>3</sup> Letronne. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* x. 227. Houang-Ti, who reigned from 147 to 168, was consequently a contemporary of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius.



house until the consul had pronounced the customary formula: "Conscript Fathers, we have nothing more to propose to you." Like all the Emperors who took their duties seriously, he strictly

fulfilled his office as justiciary, listening to both parties, deciding according to law, and above all equitably, without haste, but also without delay; and in order that the judges should do as he did, he required them to sit two hundred and thirty days in the year.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient society showed anger and hatred against the guilty; it took revenge by torturing them; it demanded not only punishments, but suffering, a slow and cruel death. Marcus Aurelius caught a glimpse, rather by an instinct for mercy than from a fixed principle of social expediency, of the modern doctrine that punishment should be employed



LUCIUS VERUS BEARING A FIGURE OF VICTORY.<sup>2</sup>

for the amendment of the criminals. "We ought," said he, "to seek by means of punishments to bring to light the good which often lies hidden in the depths of the criminal's heart." He reduced the penalties without showing weakness for the crime,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Capit., *M. Ant.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Omnia crimina minore supplicio . . . puniret* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 24); *egregia ratione humanitatis* (*Digest*, xlviii. 18, i. sect. 27). "That would not be humane," he said elsewhere (*ibid.* xl. 5, 37).

but with great severity towards the informers convicted of falsehood.<sup>1</sup> He recommends humanity; in doubtful cases the judge is to pronounce the mildest sentences.<sup>2</sup> He requires, as Hadrian did,<sup>3</sup> the governors, when an accusation comes before them, to inquire not only into the facts, but also into the intention, because it is the purpose to harm that constitutes criminality. A son kills his mother, but is suspected of having acted under the influence of sudden mental aberration. Marcus Aurelius, when consulted, replies, "He is sufficiently punished by his misfortune. Yet for his own security and that of others, let him be given in charge of his friends in his own house. The guardians of lunatics ought to prevent these unfortunate persons from doing harm to themselves or others. When such harm is done, it is the keepers who should be punished."<sup>4</sup> He used to say, moreover: "We ought not to be angry with evil-doers; on the contrary, they must be taken care of and patiently borne with. If it be possible, reform them; in the contrary case, remember that benevolence is given us for the purpose of being exercised towards them."<sup>5</sup>

Hadrian had divided the administration of Italy among four consuls. Marcus Aurelius replaced these by *juridici*, whose intervention restrained the municipal jurisdiction; and to enlarge the area of choice he admitted praetors to this office.<sup>6</sup> He developed the institution of curators, which had originated under Trajan. "Many cities," says his biographer, "received them from him;" and to enhance the dignity of the office, he often selected the curators from the senatorial order. The part assigned to these functionaries in the financial administration of ancient Italy

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Euseb., *Hist. eccles.* v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Humanior sententia a praetore eligenda est. Hoc ex D. Marcirescripto colligi potest.* This became a principle of the juriconsults, which is to be found in the fragments of Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius, Marcellus, etc. *Digest*, xxviii. 5, 84; xxxiv. 10, 5, sect. 1; l. 17, 56: *Semper in dubiis benigniora praeferenda sunt*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Divus Hadrianus haec rescripsit: in maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus* (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 14. Cf. *ibid.*, i. sect. 3; xlviii. 19, 16, sect. 8; l. 17, 79; and *Code*, ix. 16, 1).

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, i. 18, fr. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Medit.* ix. 3 and 11.

<sup>6</sup> In an inscription from Ariminum (Orelli, No. 3,177), the *juridicus* of Flaminia and Umbria is praised *ob eximiam moderationem et in sterilitate annonae laboriosam fidem et industriam ut et civibus annona superesset et vicinis civitatibus subveniretur*; the same thing at Concordia. The *juridici* then were not solely judges, but in case of need were administrators, like the ancient French parliaments. Moreover, the Romans did not understand what we call the separation of powers.



corresponds closely to that of the Italian *podestas* of the Middle Ages in the administration of justice. At both periods the cities sought for the preservation of order by the intervention of a stranger. But in the one the citizens preserved their autonomy because they elected the *podesta*; in the other they lost it because the Emperor appointed the curator.<sup>1</sup> The decurions were



MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>2</sup>

at this time overburdened with municipal honors; the Emperor forbade intrusting these offices to such as were unable to fill them without harm to themselves, and he prohibited that other decurions should be forced to sell corn to their fellow-citizens below the market price.<sup>3</sup> He established around Rome a customs

<sup>1</sup> After Marcus Aurelius, the greater part of these magistrates were taken from the equestrian order, — which tends to show that their number increased; see *infra*, cap. lxxxiii. sect. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, l. 1, 6.

boundary, which Aurelian afterwards changed into a line of fortifications.<sup>1</sup>

To assure the fact of citizenship Marcus Aurelius ordered that all free-born children should in thirty days be registered at Rome at the office of the prefects of the treasury of Saturn; in the provinces, at the public registrars (these are our civil registers); and for the better protection of the property of minors he created a praetor for wards,—an office which does not exist in France, but has been borrowed from the great Antonine by Denmark, Norway, a part of Switzerland, and England. Guardians had been hitherto accountable to the consuls, who often changed office and had a thousand other cares; a special administration, enlightened and vigilant, henceforward examined into their management. This same solicitude for the interest of families led him to extend the law so as to give guardians to adults under twenty-five years of age who were impairing their fortunes;<sup>2</sup> and he sought to strengthen the natural family, the bonds of which were so often severed by the facilities granted to adoption, by issuing an edict that children of both sexes should be admitted to the inheritance of their mothers dying intestate, even should these children have entered another family by adoption.<sup>3</sup>

The alimentary institution was further developed, and became one of the most important charges of a civil character. It had hitherto been directed by simple knights or procurators. Marcus Aurelius, in order to show the importance which he attached to it, confided its supervision to persons of praetorian or consular rank, who took the title of *praefecti alimentorum*.<sup>4</sup>

The slaves, as well as the sons, of the family had their share in his just provisions. For the purpose of gaining a last act of applause from the people, by providing for the public pleasures, even after their own death, some citizens would insert in their wills a clause that certain of their slaves should be sold in order

<sup>1</sup> Cf. De Rossi's *Plans of Rome*.

<sup>2</sup> *Statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent, non redditis causis* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 10).

<sup>3</sup> This is the senatus-consultum Orphitianum of the year 178 (*Instit.* iii. 4).

<sup>4</sup> *De alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 11). He promulgated, respecting the institution for maintenance, an edict, the first words of which Fronto has preserved: *Florere inlibatam juventutem*, which is explained as showing the desire of seeing the cities of Italy filled with youth.



to fight with beasts in the amphitheatre; Marcus Aurelius nullified these testamentary clauses.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, he made the funeral rites for poor citizens a public charge, and as the colleges or private societies had as their principal object to secure to their members the last honors and a tomb, he authorized them to receive legacies.<sup>2</sup> This



MARCUS AURELIUS GIVING A CONGIARIUM.<sup>3</sup>

was constituting them *civil persons*, capable of possessing property, capital, or slaves. So he found himself led to acknowledge also their right to set free (*manumittendi potestatem*).<sup>4</sup> These privileges were important, and contrary to the old spirit of Roman policy. He hoped to guard against the dangers that might arise from

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, xviii. 1, 42: . . . *ut cum bestiis pugnarent*.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xxxiv. 5, 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas du Bull. arch.* vol. iv. pl. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, xl. 3, 1.

the decision by establishing the rule that no one could be a member of two colleges at once,<sup>1</sup> thus maintaining the isolation of the corporations.

A Roman father had possessed the right of shattering the dearest affections of the son by obliging the latter to put away his wife; Marcus Aurelius put an end to this tyrannical power, or at least permitted its exercise only for very grave reasons.<sup>2</sup>

There is scarcely need to add that many imposts were reduced, much poverty was relieved, and many disasters were repaired. He helped Smyrna, Ephesus, Nicomedia, and Carthage, which had been destroyed by fires or earthquakes, to rise from their ruins, and remitted the arrears due to the treasury or to the aerarium for the last forty-six years by provinces, cities, and individuals, and he allowed those who were condemned to the tortures of a cruel punishment to escape them by suicide.<sup>3</sup>

We see, therefore, after a general survey of the legislation of the Antonines, that in the second century of our era the imperial government — whether administered by a soldier, like Trajan, by a scholar, like Hadrian, or by a philosopher, like Marcus Aurelius — can claim the honor of having made, to defend the weak and succor the unfortunate, efforts as generous as have ever been put forth at any period.

A disastrous pestilence was raging in the East. Beginning in Ethiopia or in India, it entered Egypt and Parthia. The story goes that the Romans had taken it at Selencia, in consequence of the theft of a gold coffer from the temple of Apollo, whence the fatal miasma escaped at the moment that sacrilegious hands violated the secret of the god. Verus, returning to Italy with a part of the army of Syria, spread the disease on his passage and even in Rome, where so many perished that the dead were removed by cartloads, and men believed that the end of the world was near. Later historians, at a loss to explain the boldness and success of the Barbarians in the following years, asserted that the Roman army was well-nigh destroyed by this scourge.<sup>4</sup> To appease the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* xlvii. 22, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex magna et justa causa* (Paulus, v. 6, sect. 15; *Digest*, xxiv. 2, 4; *Code*, v. 17, 5).

<sup>3</sup> Dion, lxxi. 32, and *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 8, sect. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut . . . maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copiae languore defecerint* (Eutrop. viii. 12).



anger of the gods, Marcus Aurelius had recourse to all the expiatory rites ordered by the ritual. Among these there was one, called for by the popular frenzy, which he had the weakness to decree or to allow to be performed: the Christians, whose faith Hadrian and his successor had either regarded as unworthy of notice, or had treated with respect, were again disquieted. We shall see that some, at Rome and in certain provinces, perished or were sent to the quarries.



STONE COMMEMORATIVE OF THE SACRIFICES OFFERED BY MARCUS AURELIUS TO ABATE THE PESTILENCE.<sup>1</sup>

Another form of worship, that of Serapis at Pelusium, was persecuted, doubtless on account of local reasons which we do not know. It was not only the sovereign pontiff of the Empire who condemned religions foreign to the Graeco-Roman polytheism, it was also the man who, by a singular union of faults and virtues, shows himself, without hypocrisy, in his *Meditations* a philosopher most unembarrassed by the bonds of creed, and in his public life the most superstitious of rulers. No one wearied the gods by more frequent sacrifices; a supplication of the victims was

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone (blood-colored jasper) published in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr. et de belles-lettres*, i. 279. Marcus Aurelius as sovereign pontiff; on his veiled head a globe, symbol of his sovereign power; behind him an augur's staff; facing the Emperor, Rome helmeted and Aesculapius with horns (see Vol. III. of this work, p. 249, note 1); under Aurelius, Hygieia, or Health; opposite, the head of Faustina. The Sagittarius who occupies the centre marks the time of the sacrifices, offered in November or December.

circulated: "To Marcus Caesar, from the white oxen. It is all over with us if you return conqueror."

It does not appear that since the time when Tacitus drew a picture of Germany any great changes had taken place among her population; but that prolific race had increased in time of peace, and their greed had augmented with their strength. At sight of the riches which the productive activity of the Romans were heaping up on the other side of the frontier, their hearts were filled with hate and envy. Those charming villas on the Danube and the Rhine which they saw from their own wild shore seemed an insult to their rude cabins; those arts, a reproach to their own coarseness; that polish of manners, a veil for corruption; above all, the glitter of the gold fascinated them, and by the theft of this treasure they seemed to themselves to have stolen a ray of Italian sunshine, and gazing ardently upon it, to be able to forget the cold and gloomy sky above their heads. In their national poem, the *Nibelungen*, the object of the heroes' ardent pursuit, the conquest for whose sake nations destroy one another and kings perish, is not the woman, the daughter of Jupiter and Leda, as it was to the Greeks under the walls of Troy, nor is it a tomb, as it was to the French before Jerusalem; but treasure! In the midst of their sterile lands and savage forests, that sensual race, greedy and poor, even then murmured Mignon's song about the lands where golden apples grew, the fruit which for eighteen centuries has excited their cupidity. In the time of the Caesars, they by their continual attacks disturbed the civilized, rich, and tranquil Empire which, under the Antonines, gave humanity a hundred years of peace; in the end they succeeded in throwing down the colossus and plunging the world into the sorrows and tears of the Middle Ages.

If ever war was impious it was when a ruler, pre-eminently upright, was on the throne,—a man who regarded his people as his family, and would willingly have considered all his neighbors as friends. Accustomed to subject the body to the soul, his passions to reason, Marcus Aurelius made virtue the sole good, wrongdoing the sole evil; all else was indifferent to him. Pestilence and famine, earthquakes and a terrible war, were let loose against him without causing him alarm, and Horace would have



selected him as the sage who remained calm and fearless amid the crash of a falling world. In the midst of the gravest perils, with the Barbarians at his very gates, Marcus Aurelius calmly wrote the gospel of the pagan world.



MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>1</sup>

The philosopher was obliged to become a soldier; but with what repugnance and what disdain for the glory of conquerors! "A spider," says he, "is proud of having taken a fly, and among men one is proud of taking a hare, another a fish, a third wild boars and bears, a fourth the Sarmatians!"<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of the sage are they not all robbers?" He was obliged, nevertheless, to

<sup>1</sup> Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.

<sup>2</sup> x. 10.



put on the cuirass as if he had been a lover of war. The alliances made during Trajan's reign by the Barbarians of the North with those of the East were certainly still existing, and Vologeses doubtless counted upon powerful assistance when he crossed the Euphrates. But from the banks of the Saale to those of the Tigris the route was long and difficult; the Germans allowed the Empire time to overwhelm the Parthians. However,

COUNCIL OF GERMAN CHIEFS.<sup>1</sup>

they completed their preparations; numerous spies informed them respecting the state of the Roman fortresses, and in the common markets open all along the frontier they purchased whatever they needed for war.<sup>2</sup> They seem to have designed at this time to come to an agreement and unite the largest number of their tribes, as in the days of Arminius and Maroboduus, — more thoroughly even than at that time, for these two chiefs were rivals and their peoples divided. To see with what unanimity the

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief of the Antonine Column.

<sup>2</sup> The principal intention of Marcus Aurelius in the treaties that he concluded with these peoples was to establish order upon the frontiers by forbidding any of them from frequenting the common markets, ἵνα μὴ . . . τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκέπτονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν (Dion, lxxi. 11).



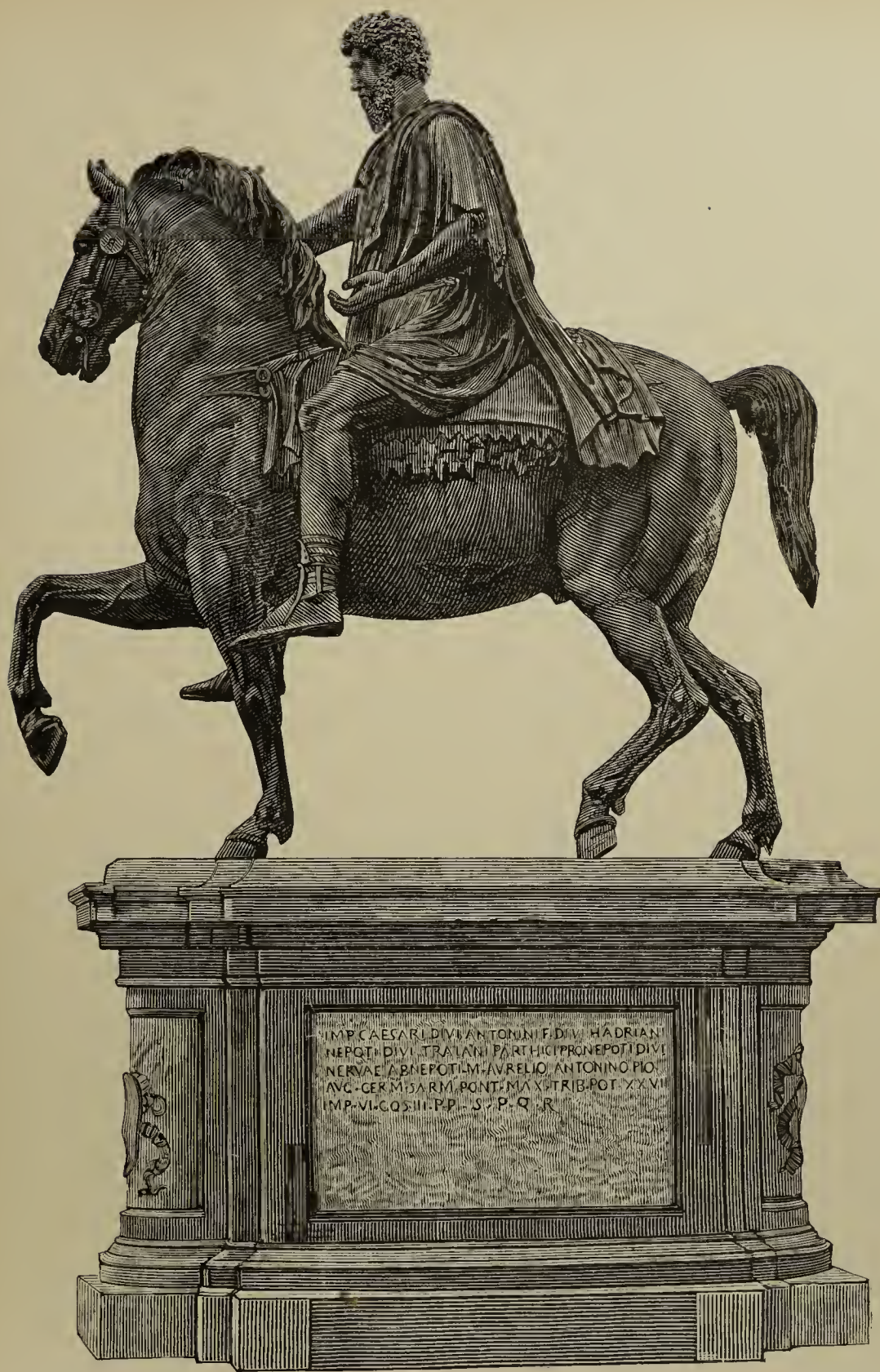
Barbaric world set itself in motion along the Roman frontiers from the *agri decumates* to the Euxine, we should be led to believe that some grand council directed the national movement. This was probably true respecting the tribes of Southern Germany,<sup>1</sup> the Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, Quadi, and Iazyges; but the Sarmatian and Scythian nations, the Victovales, Roxolani, Costoboci, Alani, and others besides, took action certainly for their own account and according to the views of their respective chiefs. As for the northern tribes, they held themselves aloof (165).

An expression used by Capitolinus seems to intimate that within this vast mass of Barbaric tribes there were oscillations of peoples driving some of them against the frontiers of the Empire, where they made a proposal, as the Cimbri did in the time of Marius, that Rome should give them lands on the condition of their doing her military service whenever she might require it. Marcus Aurelius refused a form of assistance which might become very dangerous; whereupon petitioners and enemies together rushed upon the Empire and caused infinite misfortunes. Armies were destroyed; two praetorian prefects killed; a number of towns pillaged; provinces ravaged with fire and sword. "It was," say the writers of the time, "a new Punic war." Marcus Aurelius renounced for the moment his habitual moderation: he offered five hundred pieces of gold for the head of a Barbarian chief; double, however, to him who should deliver up the chief alive.

The garrisons of Dacia, protected by the Carpathian Mountains and the strong position of their fortified places, seem to have kept a bold face, although Barbarian bands had traversed the province and burned the city of Alburnus (Verespatak), whither they had been drawn by the richness of its mines. Rhaetia and Noricum, which their mountains and the skill of Pertinax<sup>2</sup> defended, suffered occasional incursions; but the enemy could hold no footing there. It was by the plains of Pannonia that the bulk of the invasion passed on their way to the Julian Alps, the least elevated of the mountain chains which make the natural bulwark of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Thus the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Iazyges were allies, for in the treaties made with them Marcus Aurelius forbade the Quadi, situated as they were between the two other tribes, having any relations with their neighbors (Dion, *ibid.*). According to Capitolinus (cap. 22), all the tribes from Illyricum to Gaul acted in concert.

<sup>2</sup> Capit., *Pertin.* 2.



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS (PIAZZA DEL CAMPIDOGLIO, ROME).





The Marcomanni and their allies laid siege to Aquileia, the Roman outpost on this side; they even advanced as far as the Plavis, and sacked Opitergium (Oderzo).

The Hellenic peninsula was menaced as well as the Italian, and the Barbaric world tried to lay hands on Athens and on Rome, in order to seize the riches heaped up by the centuries in these two sanctuaries of the world's civilization. The Costoboci made their way, by what route we know not, into the very centre of Greece, as far as Elatea, in Phocis, where Pausanias found the traces of their ravages and the statue of a victor in the Olympic games who fell fighting against them.<sup>1</sup> In an opposite quarter outbreaks of the soldiers and populace agitated Egypt, and the Mauri continued to ravage Spain. Of all the frontiers, only those of the Euphrates and the Rhine remained in peace, the latter guarded by the legions whom the Germans of the North did not molest, and the former defended by the vigilant and able Avidius Cassius.

The peril was great; but Marcus Aurelius was not disturbed by it, and in the year 167, accompanied by Verus, he crossed the Po and the Adige at the head of such forces as he had been able to collect. The Barbarians, whom this grand title of "emperor" still intimidated, retreated at his approach, to put their captives and booty in security. The Quadi, even, on the death of their king, consented, according to a custom which in their case dated from the time of Augustus, that their new chieftain should ask the Emperor's consent before assuming the royal authority.

The two brothers seem to have returned to pass the winter (167-168) in the capital of the Empire, in order to prepare a considerable force. But, as was the case after the disaster of Varus, the citizens refused to enlist.<sup>2</sup> It became necessary to arm even slaves and gladiators, following the example set by republican Rome. The bandits of the Apennines, of Dalmatia and Dardania, were attracted by the offer of gold; the legionary's *sagum* was put on the military police who had served to keep the roads in the provinces free from robbers; and everywhere those of the Barbarians who felt disposed to sell their courage were taken in pay. We see in what a state the military forces of the Empire were

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, x. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Capit., *M. Ant.* 23. There were, however, some levies of troops made in Italy (Wilmanns, 636). This is the only example known in the second century.



thirty years after Hadrian. The organization which had been given by Augustus to his army and had been kept up by his successors had had its inevitable consequence, — civil society, unaccustomed to arms, no longer furnished a single soldier, and even for its own



LUCIUS VERUS.<sup>1</sup>

safety was incapable of a generous effort. When Marcus Aurelius removed the gladiators from Rome to the army, a popular outbreak came near taking place. "He deprives us of our amusements," cried the crowd, "to make us philosophers like himself."<sup>2</sup>

Money was lacking, as well as men. Rather than increase the taxes, Marcus Aurelius first of all exhausted all the surplus in the treasury; then during two months he sold at auction, in the

<sup>1</sup> Bust in the Capit. Hall of the Emperors, No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Capit., *ibid.* 21.

Forum of Trajan, the statues, paintings, Murrhine cups, valuable furniture, and countless curiosities of the imperial palace, even the robes and mantles woven of silk and gold belonging to the Empresses. The army, recruited at the price of such painful sacrifices, advanced beyond Aquileia and restored a degree of security to Illyria, but dared not or was unable to strike a decisive blow at the Barbarians. On the return from this inglorious campaign Verus died of apoplexy at Altinum in Venetia (169).<sup>1</sup>



JUPITER CAUSING RAIN TO FALL ON THE ROMAN ARMY.<sup>2</sup>

He had never given any very valuable co-operation to his brother and colleague, nor ever any serious cause of anxiety.

We have no details of this war, which for several years detained Marcus Aurelius on the banks of the Danube, usually in the fortified place called Carnuntum.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor manifested no

<sup>1</sup> Dion (or Xiphilinus) makes him die of poison, and on reading them (lxxi. 2) one would be led to believe that Marcus Aurelius had rid himself of his colleague, which is absurd. Marcus Aurelius reproached him only with being *remissior*. But it did not require much negligence to merit such an epithet from a severe Stoic (Capit., *M. Ant.* 20).

<sup>2</sup> Bellori, *La Colonne antonine*, pl. 15. Jupiter Pluvius, under the figure of an old man with wings, extends his long arms, from which the rain falls in torrents. The soldiers collect it in their helmets and bucklers, and some of the Barbarians, struck by lightning, are prostrate on the ground.

<sup>3</sup> Hainburg, or Petronel, in the neighborhood of Hainburg.





ANTONINE COLUMN, OR THE  
COLUMN OF MARCUS AURE-  
LIUS (AFTER CANINA).

military talent, for if any grand operation had been undertaken, some memory of it would have remained. We hear only of murderous combats, sometimes on the frozen Danube,<sup>1</sup> which gained for the officers who fell before the enemy the honor of a statue in the Forum of Trajan.<sup>2</sup> One day when the Romans, hemmed in by the Quadi, were in want of water and seemed likely to perish, an abundant rain fell on the camp, while the lightning, striking repeatedly in the Barbarian army, threw it into disorder and dismay. Doubtless this is true; facts like this occur every summer's day in some corner of the world. But natural phenomena are not understood as such by the superstitious, who in all ages have desired to mix up divine providence with human affairs, forgetting that we are made free that we may ourselves bear the responsibility of our follies. The Romans had a god of armies, and they doubted not that, influenced by the prayers of Marcus Aurelius, Jupiter, who had already done the same service for Trajan, had wrought a miracle. Tertullian claims it for the Thundering Legion, which he represents as composed of Christians;<sup>3</sup> and the two legends still exist, — one in the traditions of the Church, the other sculptured on the Column of Antoninus, where may be seen the master of Olympus sending forth from the opened sky the rain which

<sup>1</sup> Capit., *M. Ant.* 22.

<sup>2</sup> Dion, lxxi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The *legio XIIa Fulminata*, quartered in the East, was probably never in the country of the Quadi. Cf. Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, ii. No. 325, and Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc. Aurèle*, pp. 90–93. Pious frauds began early; letters of Marcus Aurelius were put in circulation attributing the safety of his army to the prayers of the Christians (Euseb., *Hist. eccles.* v. 5). For the intervention of Jupiter in the Dacian War, see p. 246.

saves the legions and the thunderbolts which destroy the Barbarians. It is the same with the legend as with the grain which the bird drops on the snow-covered mountain: it rolls, growing larger and larger from the snow which it carries while descending, and reaches the valley a thundering mass; in its origin a very simple fact, later a far-sounding prodigy.

Marcus Aurelius, however, must have imposed some check on the Germans, since they gave him the opportunity of going to establish order in the East, which had been disturbed by the revolt of Cassius.<sup>1</sup>

In his earlier years Cassius had already conspired against Antoninus, and he excited the suspicions even of Verus, who during the war in Syria had written to his brother: "Keep an eye on him; whatever we do displeases him. He takes care to collect friends and resources, and seeks to make us ridiculous in the eyes of his soldiers by calling you a philosophizing old woman and me a dissolute boy and a frequenter of gaming-houses." Marcus Aurelius replied: "Your complaints are worthy neither of an emperor nor of our government. If the gods destine the Empire for Cassius, we shall not be able to get rid of him; for you know the saying of your great-grandfather: 'No prince ever killed his successor.' If, on the other hand, Heaven abandons him, he will be caught in his own snares, without our exhibiting cruelty in enticing him into them. Besides, how can we treat a man as guilty whom no one accuses and who is beloved by his soldiers? You know that in acts against the sovereign, even he who is guilty of the crime is always considered an innocent man. Hadrian used to say, 'How wretched is the lot of rulers, whose fears of treason are never credited till they have fallen by it!' The expression was in fact Domitian's; but I prefer to quote it from your grandfather, because the best maxims lose their authority in coming from the mouth of tyrants. As to what you tell me about providing by the death of Cassius for the security of my sons, I would rather that they should perish, if the good of the state

<sup>1</sup> The treaty mentioned at pages 474, note 1, and 487, note 2, was perhaps concluded at this time (175). Capitolinus (*M. Ant.* 22) speaks of Marcomanni transferred to Italy and doubtless distributed as colonists among the landed proprietors; Dion (lxxi. 2), of Germans distributed among the armies and colonies. Those who were settled near Ravenna tried to seize the town in order to pillage it.



requires that Cassius live rather than the children of Marcus Aurelius."

This is a noble letter; yet Verus was right, and the advice that he had given called for something more than that easy resignation to the will of Heaven.



MARCUS AURELIUS RECEIVING THE HOMAGE OF THE PARTHIANS.<sup>1</sup>

Marcus Aurelius had invested Cassius with the supreme command in the Oriental provinces adjacent to the Parthian Empire, from Mount Amanus to Pelusium; and when a revolt broke out in Egypt, the Emperor authorized him to enter with his troops into that country, where this able general soon overthrew the

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief of the triumphal arch which was raised to Marcus Aurelius on the Flaminian Way (Capitoline Museum).

insurgents (170). Thus, while the Emperors with difficulty were defending the frontier of the Danube, and one of them, as if exhausted by the exertions imposed on his weakness, died on the way back to Rome, their lieutenant in the East humiliated the Great King, conquered provinces, and subdued rebels. It seemed as if all the masculine strength of the Empire had, as it were, withdrawn into the camps of Cassius. These successes turned his head. He felt sure of his army, of the people of Antioch and of Egypt, which his father had for a long time governed, and whose prefect was devoted to him; he said to himself that he was about to reproduce the history of Vespasian. On a report which he set in circulation of the death of Marcus Aurelius, some of his soldiers proclaimed him emperor.

We have a letter of Cassius, addressed to his son-in-law, which may be regarded as his manifesto. "Marcus," he says, "is without doubt a good man; but in order to have his clemency praised, he lets persons live whose conduct he condemns. Where is that Cassius whose name I uselessly bear? Where is Cato the Censor? Where are the old Roman manners? Marcus is engaged in philosophy; he discusses about clemency and the soul, about justice and injustice, and does not think of the Republic. Do you not see that edicts, and judgments, and swords are necessary before the state can be restored to its ancient vigor? Woe to those men who consider themselves the proconsuls of the Roman people because the Senate and Marcus have given over the provinces to their luxury and avidity! You know the prefect of the praetorian guard appointed by our philosopher; one day he was a beggar, on the morrow he was rich. How did that take place except by gnawing the entrails of the Republic and of the provinces? They are rich! Well, the treasury shall soon be replenished; and if the gods favor the good cause, the Cassii will restore its grandeur to the Republic."<sup>1</sup>

Some of these reproaches are just. Marcus Aurelius philosophized too much; and these rhetoricians, these philosophers to whom he gave the consular fasces, must have been curious statesmen, if we may judge by what has come down to us about the

<sup>1</sup> Dion, like Cassius, reproaches the Emperor with having tolerated malpractices, probably from want of vigilance.



most celebrated of them, Cornelius Fronto.<sup>1</sup> It is said that just before setting forth for his last campaign, the Emperor held, during three days in Rome, long conferences on the doctrines of the different schools. A good deal of philosophy in one's private life

and on the eve of death is excellent; but other cares should occupy a monarch on the commencement of an important war.

Cassius' letter shows also that relaxation of authority which was so conspicuous in the reign of Antoninus, and doubtless continued under Marcus Aurelius; but at the same time it shows what a harsh, implacable government the descendant of "the tyrannicide" wished to see established. The soldiers had no need to read this manifesto to form an idea of the severities which awaited them. Their attitude and that of the provinces obliged Cassius to decree in advance the apotheosis of the man he wished to slay. This was a bad augury for the success of his enterprise. Besides, in violating the law, after having so well defended it, a man loses half his power, if he does not lose it wholly. Cassius,



MARCUS AURELIUS WEARING THE CUIRASS.<sup>2</sup>

obeyed in spite of his severity so long as he continued faithful to his duty, ceased to be so as soon as he departed from it. All that he had done on behalf of discipline turned against him; and the soldiers, who had so long trembled before the legitimate lieutenant of the Emperor, murdered the usurping general three months and

<sup>1</sup> One of his editors, Niebuhr, says of his *Letters*: *Pravum et putidum genus!* and the last. Naber: *Verba venditat et voces, et praeterea nihil . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Capitol, Salon, No. 9.

six days after his praetorian prefect had invested him with the imperial insignia.<sup>1</sup>

At the first news of this revolt the senators had proclaimed Cassius a public enemy and had confiscated his possessions. This effort exhausted their courage; and many of them imagined that they already heard the Syrian legions crossing the Alps, as the Flavian army had done a century before, when news came that the rebel's head had been brought to the Emperor. When he saw it, Marcus Aurelius felt distressed that the Republic had lost a good general and he the occasion of a generous pardon. "But," his friends said to him, "what would Cassius have done to you had he conquered?" And the Emperor replied: "Our piety towards the gods and our conduct in regard to man assured us the victory." Then he passed in review all the Emperors who had been slain, and proved that there was not one of them who had not deserved this destiny by his own fault; whereas Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, were not vanquished by the rebels, and moreover several of the latter had perished, like Cassius, unknown to these Emperors and contrary to their desire.

In this way, by a strange and fortunate inconsistency which often arises, Marcus Aurelius, while fully accepting the Stoic doctrine of fatalism, maintained that by force of wisdom a man could control destiny and render it favorable. Character, in truth, which is the very substance of the soul, marks the man much more than



MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Waddington has found in the Hauran five inscriptions with the name Av. Cassius, dated 168, 169, 170, and 171. Now the duration of the functions of a legate in the consular provinces being five years, Cassius was in 172 in the last year of his command; then came his revolt (*Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,221; see Borghesi, v. 437, No. 11). Yet, according to an inscription of the *C. I. L.* vol. iii. No. 13, Marcus Aurelius did not arrive at Alexandria until the year 176.

<sup>2</sup> COMMODVS CAES. GERM. ANTONINI AVG. GERM. FIL., around the bust of Commodus as a boy. On the reverse, M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVII. and Marcus Aurelius in a cuirass. Bronze medal of the greatest rarity. *Cabinet de France*. Cohen, No. 369.



his opinions do, which are only a mental operation; and since the one is received from nature, while the others arise from circumstances, the successor of Antoninus, whatever doctrines he might have embraced, would always have been Marcus Aurelius.



TRIUMPH OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>1</sup>

Faustina, the Emperor's friends, and the Senate all demanded acts of severity.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor refused; only a few centurions were punished for the sake of discipline. The sons of Cassius kept the half of

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. Capitol, Palace of the Conservatori.

<sup>2</sup> Vulcatius Gallicanus gives, in the *Life of Avidius Cassius*, a letter of Faustina, the answer of Marcus Aurelius, and an extract from the latter's message to the Senate to stop proceedings against Cassius' family and accomplices; he adds that Commodus, after his father's death, caused the rebel's children and kinsmen to be burned alive. Tillemont (ii. 641) believes that the letters of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina respecting Cassius are not genuine.



their father's property, and did not forfeit the right of aspiring to public office. But Marcus Aurelius decided that no one for the future should govern the province in which he was born; and this prohibition has remained one of the rules of the ancient administrative law of France.



ROME, OF SUPERHUMAN SIZE AS A DIVINITY, GIVES THE GLOBE OF THE WORLD TO MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor thought it necessary to re-establish order in the Oriental provinces by his presence. He visited Antioch, which he punished for its fidelity to Cassius by prohibiting for a time the celebration of any games or festivals in the city; Alexandria, which saw him, without court or guards, wearing the philosophers' cloak and living as they did; Athens especially, where he admired less

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief; Capitol, Palace of the Conservatori.



the monuments of art than those of thought, seeking traces of Plato and Socrates rather than of Pheidias or Pericles. There he instituted courses of lectures in different languages for teaching all branches of knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and received initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, the one institution of paganism which implied an examination of the conscience, rejected the guilty, and admitted only him whose life was spotless.<sup>2</sup>

On his return to Rome he celebrated a triumph for successes gained over the Germans, gave the consulship to his son, together with the tribunitian power, and shared with him the title of imperator. Eight times already had the legions from interested zeal decreed to Marcus Aurelius this honor, which is better explained by the gifts with which it was followed than by any decisive victories which preceded it. Medals of similar veracity promised perpetual



COMMODUS WHEN A BOY.<sup>4</sup>

peace to the Empire. They had hardly been struck when the Emperor was obliged to set out (August 5, 178) for the frontiers of Pannonia, where the Barbarians, checked but not subdued, were always in commotion. He had exacted, in a treaty which seems to be of the year 175,<sup>3</sup> that the Marcomanni should withdraw five miles from the Danube, which they were to approach only on market-days; that the Iazyges should not put a boat on the river; that the Quadi should set free their captives. And we can measure the extent of the ravages this

people had made in the Empire by the numbers of their Roman

<sup>1</sup> Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις . . . ἐπὶ πάσης λόγου παιδείας (Dion, lxxi. 31).

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Ut se innocentem probaret* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 27).

<sup>3</sup> He had taken, since the year 172, the title of Germanicus (Eckhel, vii. 73).

<sup>4</sup> Bust in the Museum of the Louvre.

prisoners: the Quadi had promised to deliver up fifty thousand, and the Iazyges restored double that number.<sup>1</sup> There was another danger. The great nation of the Goths had begun a movement southward; and when they drew near the Empire, the tribes bordering the Roman frontier pressed against this barrier so urgently as to threaten to break through it.<sup>2</sup> Rome needed a Trajan, who by vigorous blows would have made these Barbaric hordes retrace their steps; but it had only an upright man, who knew how to bear adverse fortune with patience, but knew not how to compel prosperity. After twenty months passed in the midst of labors, disquietude, and fatigues, which he sometimes forgot in conversing with himself (εἰς ἑαυτόν), the Emperor died at Vindobona (Vienna) March 17, 180, at the age of fifty-nine.

All the historians reproach Marcus Aurelius for a weakness shameful in regard to his wife, culpable in respect to his son. But the wretched anecdote-mongers who in the third century wrote the history of the Caesars, took pleasure in scandal and did not shrink from the absurd.<sup>4</sup> The misfortunes of husbands have, unfortunately, at all times furnished an inexhaustible subject of mirth; those of



FAUSTINA, THE MOTHER OF CAMPS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion, lxxi. 15-19. The Iazyges obtained then the liberty of trading with the Roxolani across Dacia, on the condition of asking authorization every time from the governor of this province. (See above, p. 473, note 2.) Capitolinus says that on account of these numerous wars, Marcus Aurelius appointed men of consular rank, as presumably more competent magistrates, where hitherto praetors had been employed. A praetor, moreover, replaced the procurator of Rhaetia and Noricum.

<sup>2</sup> If we may believe Pausanias, who wrote in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, this Emperor subdued Germans and Sarmatians. This is read also in the inscription No. 861 of Orelli's collection. Herodianus, more exact, is satisfied with saying: "He conquered some of these tribes and treated with the others; the rest took refuge in their forests. His presence kept them there and prevented them from undertaking anything."

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, the head of Faustina the younger; on the reverse, the inscription M ATRI CASTRORVM and Faustina, seated, holding in one hand a globe surmounted by a phoenix and in the other a sceptre; before her three ensigns. Large bronze, Cohen, No. 194.

<sup>4</sup> L. Vulcatius Gallienus (*Avid. Cass.* 9) apprises us that the writer who was the principal source for the *Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, Marius Maximus, had sought to defame Faustina (*infamari eam cupiens*). Capitolinus simply says (*M. Ant.* 23): *De amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo; sed haec omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.*



monarchs have had a particular charm, because they seem a set-off against the grandeur of royalty and prove that kings are only human. Although we know that the ancients were sometimes extremely forbearing in cases of this kind, we cannot regard as credible the



APOTHEOSIS OF FAUSTINA, WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>1</sup>

expression attributed to Marcus Aurelius, who on being urged to repudiate his wife is said to have replied, "Then I must restore the dowry also;" meaning the Empire. But the Empire was not Faustina's dowry, for Marcus Aurelius was Caesar before he married her. The multitude dream rather than think; now in a dream a sound is enough to give a new direction to thoughts which the will does not control. Thus the imagination of the crowd

<sup>1</sup> Capitol, Palace of the Conservatori.

and of the writers who follow it needs but a word to make up a whole story. Commodus, Faustina's son, being more like a gladiator than a prince, is supposed to be the son of some hero of the arena; hence the story of his birth, which can be told only in Latin, is belied by the resemblance which the bust and medals establish between him and Marcus Aurelius.<sup>1</sup> With all his virtues, the Emperor had one dangerous fault,—he was tedious. Did this fault of his produce faithlessness on the part of his wife? Such has sometimes been the case, but not always. The handsome Empress doubtless was aware that the austere personages who surrounded her husband were only pedants; and the high-born woman showed her contempt for the insignificant men whom he favored. The latter took their revenge by whispered slanders, which after her death burst forth into calumnies, which the follies and cruelties of Commodus seemed to verify: the mother paid the debts of the son. Dion, almost a contemporary, is silent, at least in what remains of his writings, on the subject of this story. It is only in passing and by a word that he or his abbreviator makes allusion to "some faults;" and the letters of Faustina to Marcus Aurelius, preserved by Vulcatius Gallicanus, are those of an empress, a wife, and a mother. She accompanied her husband in the

FAUSTINA, WIFE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This likeness is attested by Fronto. "I have seen thy sons," he wrote to the Emperor, . . . *tam simili facie tibi ut nihil sit hoc simili similis* (*Ad M. Aut.* i. 3). Capitolinus himself treats as popular fable the story of the birth of Commodus (*talem fabellam vulgari sermone contextunt*) and that of the relations of Faustina with Verus, whom afterwards she is said to have poisoned. Faustina had had two sons before Commodus, who both died young, and four or five daughters, the eldest of whom, Annia Lucilla, married first Verus, then Pompeianus. Three of the sisters of Commodus survived him (*Lamprid., Comm.* 18; *Herodian*, i. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Museum of Naples, No. 44.



greater part of his expeditions, which gained for her from the soldiers the title of "mother of the camps," and she was with him in the East when sickness carried her off at the foot of Mount Taurus. Those who had calumniated her in life continued to do so after her death, putting in circulation the absurd tale that she had urged on Cassius to revolt by the offer of her hand, and had now taken her own life from fear that her husband might discover this complicity.<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius caused a temple to be built to her memory in the place where she died; at Rome it was his pleasure that the Empress should be represented on a bas-relief carried to heaven by a genius, and himself following with a look of affection the apotheosis of "his beloved Faustina." In the temple of Venus and of Rome he placed an altar, where, on their wedding-day, young married couples offered a sacrifice; in the theatre her statue of gold was put in the place which she had usually occupied, and the grandest ladies of the Empire sat around it at the time of the games.<sup>2</sup> Would Marcus Aurelius have thus insulted public decorum had he felt any doubts respecting the mother of his seven children, and would he have written about her what we read in his *Meditations*? We are told all this was pretence. But what the Truth-teller wrote, he believed. To maintain that he knew nothing of such misconduct is to make him the deceived husband of a comedy; and the enemies whom Faustina's beauty and grace, and perhaps also her pride, in the midst of a court of parvenus had raised up against her would surely have found means of letting him know the truth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The biographer of Avidius Cassius denies this complicity, which good sense rejects. See the letter of Faustina, which he quotes.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote to Fronto (v. 25): "Every morning I pray to the gods for Faustina." To honor her memory, *novas puellas Faustianas instituit* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 26). See p. 269, note 1. A bas-relief of the Villa Albani represents Faustina surrounded by young girls and giving them corn, which the latter receive in a fold of their dress.

<sup>3</sup> On this question, see a Memoir of M. Renan in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1867, pp. 203-215. Wieland has upheld the same view, with a less amount of proofs, in his *Sämmtliche Werke*, xxiv. 378. Spon, nearly two centuries ago, invented the false method, elaborously revived in our days, of making the history of a person from the features of his face, in his dissertation on the *Utilité des médailles pour l'étude de la physionomie* (*Recherches curieuses d'antiquités*, XXIVe dissert., 1683, p. 386). He says of the younger Faustina: "Abusing her husband's good nature, she gave herself up to a dissolute life. Her physiognomy makes it easy to recognize her disposition. She was pretty, with a sly look and the mien of a giddy woman whose head goes faster than her feet. She has the air of a bird, especially of those singing-birds who are all the time flying, singing, and disporting themselves; the small head, the small eyes, the little face held up, the long neck, are very like a linnet." It

With respect to his son, Marcus Aurelius is accused of having known, without daring to oppose them, the wicked inclinations of that perverse nature. At the death of his father, Commodus was only nineteen, and in spite of the stories told of his licentious and savage youth, he had doubtless not yet exhibited the vices which have given him a place apart even among tyrants. All the Antonines had succeeded to the Empire in mature life; Commodus took possession of it at about the same age with Nero. To explain why he lived like the latter there is no need of blaming Marcus Aurelius; the enjoyment of absolute power at this early age is quite enough to furnish a full explanation. But if the Emperor be not held responsible for his son's cruelties, we are justified in reproaching him for having made these cruelties possible, by abandoning the system which for the last eighty-three years had prevailed in the matter of the imperial succession.

During its whole duration, the Empire oscillated between two opposite principles, — royal heredity, which is always in the ruler's heart and is often favored by the subjects also; and popular election, which was in all men's memories, in the spirit of the constitution, and in the constantly recurring necessity of selecting a head, since the imperial families had been incapable of perpetuating themselves. But the law and Roman customs furnished a means for conciliating these two opposite systems by the facilities furnished through



ANNIA FAUSTINA, DAUGHTER OF M. AURELIUS AND FAUSTINA.<sup>1</sup>

is quite possible that Ampère's observation is derived from this: "Her busts always have the look of being ready to engage in conversation with any one . . . and her head, a little bent, seems to be listening to a conversation." This is perhaps wit, but it is not history.

<sup>1</sup> A statue found in the neighborhood of Lanuvium (*Civita Lavinia*). Campana Museum, H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.* No. 96.



adoption. No people has practised this institution to the same extent with Rome: her great families had perpetuated themselves by calling in strangers, to whom by this legal affiliation were secured all the rights attached to natural sonship. On the other hand, the Emperor represented the people, who continued in theory the true sovereign; besides, in virtue of the assumed original delegation which had been made to him, and which on the accession of each emperor the *lex Regia* seemed to renew, the perpetual tribune legally exercised all the powers of the public assembly. From this it resulted that the choice of the future emperor, although decided by one man, seemed to be an indirect election by the people. The confirmation given afterwards by the Senate and the armies was the assent of the nobility and of those who were regarded, much more than the populace of Rome, as the real Roman people. This was the constitutional law of the Empire; and thanks to the religious respect paid by the Romans to formulas and appearances, a few words, pronounced according to the ritual and the ancient usage, sufficed to give the force of law to what was in fact only the law of force.

With these private and public customs quite peculiar to imperial Rome, with this facility enjoyed by the Emperor in choosing as and when he wished the son and heir whom it pleased him to select, the Emperors had the means of always securing suitable chiefs for the Empire. Thus for the happiness of the world, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus made selection. Two Emperors, Galba and Hadrian, even gave the reason for this system,<sup>1</sup> which had already shown its capabilities; it had now lasted a sufficient time to cause to be accepted as state law what had been not only the law of families, but also, in fact, for two centuries the law of the Empire. Out of seventeen Emperors, only two are to be found, Titus and Domitian, who were the natural heirs of their predecessor. If then Marcus Aurelius had possessed a firm political mind, he would have "sacrificed," as Augustus used to express it, "his paternal affections to the public good,"<sup>2</sup> and would have

<sup>1</sup> See Tac., *Hist.* i. 16, *et supra*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus, who was himself the *adopted son* of Caesar, had arranged for the accession of his son-in-law, the great Agrippa, at the expense of his grandchildren; and in adopting Tiberius to the detriment of his legal heir, Agrippa Posthumus, he had obliged Livia's son to adopt Germanicus while Tiberius himself had a son of man's estate. In his turn Tiberius left the

bequeathed his power to some well-tried statesman. Very near him was a senator who had twice been consul and commander of an army, his son-in-law, Claudius Pompeianus; in the *Cæsars* Julian reproaches Marcus Aurelius for not having chosen this energetic and judicious man. "Pompeianus," says he, "would have governed well;" the system of adoption would have been strengthened by this new example of a free choice; and the Empire would perhaps have handed down to modern Europe a principle of government superior to that of heredity. But by the strangest inconsistency, the philosopher, who to govern himself regarded the world from so lofty a position, was unwilling to look outside his own family for the ruler of eighty millions of men, and the sage, in whose eyes all privileges were obliterated, thought that his son, born in the purple, had found there the sceptre of the world. This error threw back into the hazards of royal births and barrack riots a society which, failing to possess for its defence those precautionary institutions whose elastic bonds restrain without wounding, began once more to live from hand to mouth, according as fortune put a wise man or a fool at its head. Severus will do for Caracalla what Marcus Aurelius did for his son Commodus. After the Antonines we shall find the Thirty Tyrants; and this bad method of succession will increase the causes of ruin, which will day by day develop in the heart of that monarchy for a time so strong and prosperous.

### III.—STOICS AND CHRISTIANS.

ANOTHER fault weighs on this Emperor's memory,—the persecution of the Christians. Then took place the first great collision between Christianity and the Empire. We cannot omit this blood-stained page of his reign, for there is contained in it an historic problem which often meets us, which will continually recur, and forms, far more than battles, the dramatic grandeur of history. Why can the departing past never understand the approaching future, which is soon to be the present?

power, not to his own blood relations, but to Caligula. Claudius, by the adoption of Nero, disinherited his son Britannicus. Finally, the adoption of Clodius (Cicero, *Pro Domo*, 13) proves that from the time of Cicero the ancient conditions of adoption were, according to circumstances, observed or disregarded.



War, which had broken down the narrow walls of the Roman city, had also shattered the walls surrounding human intelligence; thought had grown as had the state. Metaphysics had gained little by this change. Turned aside by the practical tendencies of their genius from the quibbles whereby had been led astray the subtle mind of the Greeks, — a disputations race, to whom the mere jingle of words now sufficed, — the Romans had put aside theoretical discussions and gone straight to individual and social results. Their philosophers had been simply moralists, and had been so with characteristics of their own. A peace of two centuries' duration, such as the world had never known, had relaxed the tension of men's minds, had softened the wild passions which perpetual wars had kept in a state of excitement, and had opened the source, till then closed, of kindly feelings one to another. The morality of Zeno and Cleanthes, which aimed less at regulating human nature than at subduing it by pride of soul and insensibility of body, by degrees lost its rudeness. The spirit of charity softened it; it grew warm with an expansive tenderness, and its scornful haughtiness changed into gentleness and sympathy. The idea of humanity, faintly seen in Greece, grew into clearness; and it was an Emperor who wrote: "The Athenian said, 'O beloved city of Cecrops!' And thou, canst thou not say of the world, 'O beloved city of Jupiter!'"<sup>1</sup> This thought of Marcus Aurelius extends even beyond humanity, it embraces the whole of nature and God. The world is to him a divine cosmos: "O world, whatever suits thee is agreeable to me! O nature, whatever thy seasons bring me is a fruit ever ripe!" etc. A new moral conception was thus added to the treasury of generous ideas which mankind already possessed.

The older Stoicism had only the two negative principles, — *sustine et abstinence*, endure and abstain; the new had added a third, the principle of action necessary to make the two others fruitful, — *adjuva*, love your fellow-creatures and help them. By this motto the Stoics returned into the human fellowship whence their proud virtue had banished them.

But if humanity became one large family, it was needful, by a natural order, to regard men as brethren and equals, who, having the same blood, had a right to the same esteem. In Nero's time

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius, iv. 23.

Seneca wrote: "All men are noble, even the slave; all are brethren, for they are all sons of God."<sup>1</sup>

At this time, also, being no longer deceived by a belief in gods of wood and stone, inert representatives of the blind forces of nature, the sages of the heathen world, modified Stoics or followers of the new Platonism, endeavored to penetrate the secrets of the invisible. Some went no farther than the conception of the universal soul of nature,—the first cause of all that lived;<sup>2</sup> many sought beyond the world of matter this universal cause, which was not contained in it: but all alike found a reflection of the divine thought in the individual conscience, by which each man was bound to regulate his life.

Thus, from Aristotle to Marcus Aurelius, philosophy incessantly developed ideas of humanity, of mutual good-will, of moral equality, and at last reached the thought of Divine Providence, which was for the imperial philosopher what it ought to be for all,—the necessary harmony between cause and effect. "Go straight," said he, "*according to law*, and follow God, who is the guide and end of thy way." Cleanthes had already sung in a magnificent hymn to Zeus of the Law common to all existences.<sup>3</sup> Philosophy, which had at first been a cry of revolt, now became the conviction of duty; its dominant idea being submission to that law which every man can discover by a persevering examination of himself.

If the apologists of the second century and so many doctors of the Church found Christians existing before Christ,<sup>4</sup> no one in heart was so much so as Marcus Aurelius, for never has any man carried farther the desire for inner perfection and the love of humanity. He remains the very loftiest expression of that purified Stoicism which bordered on Christianity without entering its territory or taking anything from it. After his death there were found in a casket ten bundles of tablets, written for his own use, the thought of the moment, which no eye had seen, which perhaps it was not intended that any one ever should see; and this dialogue with his soul, these solitary meditations, have formed a

<sup>1</sup> *Omnes . . . a diis sunt (Ep. 44) . . . Jure naturali omnes liberi nascuntur* (Ulp. in *Digest*, I. i. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Marcus Aurelius said of nature: Ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σέ πάντα, "All comes from thee, all is by thee, all returns unto thee" (iv. 23).

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. II. p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 446.



work of sublime morality. In his view the virtuous man is "a priest" of the god within; that is to say, of conscience. "May the god who is in thee," he says, addressing himself, "govern a man truly a man, a citizen, a Roman, an emperor." But this Roman, this emperor, must be mild, compassionate, the friend of man. "Believe that men are your brethren, and you will love them." "Can you say, I have never done wrong to any one either in action or word? If you can, you have fulfilled your task. Very soon you will be only dust and ashes; while awaiting the coming of that moment, what should you do? Honor the gods and do good to men." But in what does the good consist? In acting according to right reason (*ὁρθὸς λόγος*), which is an emanation from the universal reason, and conformably to the divine will, which is sovereign justice. Thus humanity commands us to love as our brethren those who have injured us; and only one form of revenge is permitted,—not to imitate those of whom we have cause to complain. It is not enough to do good, it must be done for its own sake, without any thought of a return. "You complain of having obliged an ungrateful man, and would have wished to be recompensed for your trouble; as if the eye asked for its wages because it sees, or the feet because they walk. The horse which has run, the dog which has hunted, the bee which has made its honey, the man who has done good, do not proclaim it to the world, but pass on to another action of the same nature, as the vine produces other grapes when the next season comes round." To abstain even from the thought of evil, by fashioning the soul to the divine likeness; to support wrongs with resignation; to love mankind; to sacrifice even the object accounted the dearest to the fulfilment of duty,—all this is seen in Marcus Aurelius. And he believed that this manly religion of duty would suffice for humanity,—the mistake of a noble mind, into which it is glorious to have fallen, and which, thank God, still exists for a few heroic spirits! But when will it become the belief and the rule of the multitude?

This philosophy simplified life by making no reference to death; or at least, in not being anxious as to what may be found beyond the tomb, it divested itself of interest on questions which have most troubled the human soul. At first it had extolled "the

reasonable exit" (εὐλογος ἐξαγωγή), by which man voluntarily gives back to Nature the elements which she had lent him for a time; and we have seen, from Tiberius to Vespasian, an actual epidemic of suicide. Marcus Aurelius, the man of law, condemns voluntary death as a weakness. "The man," he says, "who tears away his soul



MARCUS AURELIUS READING THE PETITIONS OF THE PEOPLE: "BEAR IN MIND THAT MEN ARE THY BRETHREN."<sup>1</sup>

from the society of reasonable beings transgresses the law; the servant who runs away "is a deserter." So he blames what he calls "the obstinacy of the Christians, seeking death with tragical ostentation." But he accepts the summons of Nature "without transport, pride, or disdain," since death is a necessary consequence of the laws of the world. "Many grains of incense," he says,

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. Capitol, Palace of the Conservatori.



“are destined to burn on the same altar; if one drops into the flame sooner and another later, where is the difference?” And again: “We should give up life as the ripe olive falls, blessing the earth, its nurse, and giving thanks to the tree which has borne it.” His virtue was not a bargain made with Heaven, he found in it its own reward, and he expected nothing from the gods; “the eternal silence of infinity” did not affright him.

In his *Meditations*, the method—that is to say, the persevering study of one’s self—and the exquisite purity of sentiment are his own, but the stock of ideas belongs to his age. This is proved by the first chapters, in which he acknowledges to each of his masters, his relatives and friends, what he has received from them. In the doctrine of the λόγος, which unites man to God and men to one another, the new Stoics asserted the principle,—the basis of human society and of the divine commonwealth,—that we ought to honor the divine spirit that is within us by moral purity, and that which is in our fellow-creatures by love towards them. Now history has shown us these ideas coming forth from the school to permeate civil law, which they change, and even the administration of justice, which they modify. Jurisconsults such as the world has not seen since, following one another uninterruptedly during two centuries, have transformed the old Quiritarian law, first of all ameliorated by the law of nations, then by the law of nature, into the legislation which has been termed “written reason,” or in the words of Ulpian, “the most holy civil wisdom.” Celsus, a friend of Hadrian, defined law as “the science of the good and the just;” and Justinian has placed at the head of his *Pandects* these three sentences of Ulpian: “The precepts of the law are to live honorably, to injure no one, to give to every one his due.”<sup>1</sup> Law became a religion, the worship of justice, and the *prudentes* with pride called themselves its priests.<sup>2</sup> The spirit of equity, which the jurisconsults introduced into the law, entered also into government; imperial Rome shared her civil

<sup>1</sup> *Digest.* i. 10, with this definition of justice: *Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cujus merito quis nos sacerdotes appellet: justitiam namque colimus et boni et aequi notitiam profitemur* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, I. i. sect. 1).

and political rights with those whom Republican Rome had termed the foreigner and the enemy, and we have seen how the Antonines alleviated the condition of the woman, the son, and the slave, gave assistance to destitute children, a physician to the sick, and funeral rites to those who were unable to pay for a pyre or a tomb.<sup>1</sup>

While Marcus Aurelius, in his tedious vigils in the country of the Quadi, was writing the work called the *Meditations*, of which a cardinal has said, "My soul blushes redder than my garments when I regard the virtues of this Gentile," other men, in the heart of the great cities, who were often in rags, were meeting together secretly also to search after the invisible world; and these are the words to which they listened:<sup>2</sup> "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? But I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.—Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. If, therefore, thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.—Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also."

And again: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his

<sup>1</sup> These ideas are developed in chapters lxxxii. sect. 4, and lxxxvii. sect. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, in his first *Apology* (15, 16), presented to Antoninus, quoted several of these sentences.



right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me

in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him: Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or athirst, and gave thee drink? . . . And the King shall answer and say unto them, Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

Thus heaven, which had been so long closed, began to open; the soul, as Plato says, found wings again. The wisest of the pagans proudly limited their hopes to this life; the Gospel extended its to eternity. Our stay here, instead of being the end, is only a time of probation, a journey in a place of exile. Riches and honors become a danger; poverty and suffer-



ATYS.<sup>1</sup>

ing are a promise; death is a deliverance. Hitherto religion had been a worship of terror or of pleasure; it now appeared as the worship of love. It had spoken to the senses and the imagination; it spoke now to the heart. When Saint John, borne into the assembly of the faithful, said with his latest breath, "Beloved, let us love one another," is it to be wondered at that the poor,

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue in the Lansdowne Collection.

the infirm, the slaves. all the outcasts of pagan society. all those who, suffering in body or soul, needed love and hope, that women especially, should welcome the Gospel, and that so many Christian communities should be rapidly formed?

Thus, apart from dogma, humanity at that time was whispering the same words under gilded ceilings and in the hut of the wretched, from the lips of the Emperor and those of the slave. Those who thought with Marcus Aurelius, or who meditated on the *Manual* of Epictetus, which a saint later on made the rule of his monks,<sup>1</sup> were ready to be in sympathy with those who read the *Sermon on the Mount* or the *Parables* of Jesus. And yet between them was an abyss, or rather a still impenetrable mass of passions, interests, and superstitions, which the old social system and its murderous laws protected.

The ancient worship, which nothing upheld, was crumbling to pieces. The oracles were silent, accused by the pagans themselves of deception. The temples remained deserted, and Lucian, who wrote in the time of Marcus Aurelius, pursued the gods with the lash of his pitiless satire. The ancient lords of Olympus inspired him with no more respect than they had inspired Seneca, and the later ones exasperated him. "Whence have fallen into our midst," he puts into the mouth of Momus, "this Atys, this Corybas, this Sabazios? Who is this Median Mithra, with a tiara on his head? He does not understand Greek and does not know one's meaning when his health is proposed. The Scythians and the Getae, seeing how easy it is to make immortals, imagined they had a right to inscribe on our lists their Zamolxis, a slave who is found here,



JUPITER AMMON (WITH RAM'S HORNS).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Saint Nilus and the Anchorites of Sinai. Nilus simply substituted the name of Saint Peter for that of Socrates, suppressed a thought about love, and introduced the idea of the immortality of the soul, omitted in the *Manual*. It was still read in the thirteenth century in the Benedictine convents.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved stone (cornelian of 15 millim.  $\times$  11) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,433.



I know not why. And we have besides the Anubis with a dog's head, and the bull of Memphis! Yet they have priests, and utter oracles. And thou, great Jupiter, how dost thou like those ram's horns which they have fixed on thy brow?"<sup>1</sup>

These are the feelings of the educated; and this contempt for the traditional polytheism led them, as it did Marcus Aurelius, Apuleius, and so many others, to the conception of one God.<sup>2</sup> But in the ignorant crowd the void left in their souls by the destruction of the official religion was filled up by foreign cults; the East overflowed the West with its thousand superstitions. After a long eclipse, the Greek genius had awakened, no longer clear, as in the best days of Hellenic civilization, but tainted with impure elements, disturbed, restless, seeking after the impossible even in the follies of mysticism. Before it the simple genius of Rome and the Transalpine nations fell back. The priests of Persia, Egypt, Syria, the astrologers, the necromancers, the sibyls, the prophets, those searchers into the future whom the future always escapes, but who at certain periods get hold of the present, overran the cities and attracted the crowd.<sup>3</sup> Apuleius, one of the contemporaries of Marcus Aurelius, shows us, by the terror which magic inspired, the importance which the magicians at that time possessed; they professed to have eighty certain means of constraining Destiny to reply to them.<sup>4</sup> Thus does it happen whenever a strong belief grows feeble or begins to totter. At the end of the Middle Ages the sorcerers swarmed everywhere; in more recent times, the *Illuminati*.

To men like these, living by the credulity of others, and to the philosophers of the day, who, in the language of Epicurus and

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *The Assembly of the Gods*.

<sup>2</sup> On this idea, which shows itself everywhere, see Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. xvii. 19; Saint Augustine, *Epist.* 16; letter of Maximus of Medaura, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 94, 95, vi. 510-555; Suetonius, Tacitus, *passim*. Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.* iv. 99-130. Artemidorus, in Antoninus' time, had written a treatise on dreams, *Oneirocriticon*, and Marcus Aurelius (i. 17) believed that he received during his sleep revelations respecting some remedies which he afterwards employed.

<sup>4</sup> Apuleius was himself accused of magic. Saint Justin tells us in his second *Apology* that the prophetic books of Hystaspes and the Sibyls were prohibited, and that those who read them were punished with death. The trifles on which rested the accusation brought against Apuleius show how easily these dangerous prosecutions were begun. They must have made many victims; not so many, however, as the mediæval trials for sorcery. In two years (1527, 1528), in the single city of Würzburg, the bishop burned a hundred and fifty-eight alleged sorcerers.

Lucretius, "desired to set men free from the chains of superstition," the Christians were the natural enemies. It was common to accuse them of every sort of crime; it was said they ate children,—an accusation which the Christians in their turn repeated against the Jews in the Middle Ages,—and that they celebrated by turns "the incestuous union of Oedipus and the abominable banquet of Thyestes." By others their hopes of heaven were represented as entirely earthly appetites; and there was discovered in their doctrines a social peril,—which certainly existed, since the Church could triumph only by the upsetting of the existing order. And we do not speak of heresies which veiled from the eyes of pagans the figure of Christ under strange and sometimes monstrous additions. Consequently, to those who, regarding the subject from a distance and carelessly, did not clearly understand it, Christianity seemed a revolt, not only against the Empire, but also against all human law.

Read what is related by the author of a dialogue found in the works of Lucian. Might he not be called a terrified conservative falling into the midst of a democratic club?

"I was walking up the main street, when I saw a crowd of people who were talking in a low tone. I come near and see a little old man quite feeble, who, after much coughing and spitting, begins to speak in a squeaky voice: 'Yes, he will abolish the arrears of taxes, he will pay public or private debts, and receive all men without concerning himself about their social position;' with a thousand similar fooleries, to which the crowd eagerly listens. Another comes up without hat or shoes and wearing a cloak in rags. 'I have seen,' he says, 'an ill-dressed man with shaven hair who came from the mountains. He has shown to me the name of the liberator written in signs; he will cover the main street with gold.' 'Ah!' I exclaimed at last, 'you have slept too long and dreamed too much; your debts will increase in place of diminishing, and he who reckons on much gold will lose his last obolus.' Meantime one of the bystanders persuades me to seek the place of meeting of these rascals. I climb to the top of a winding staircase, and enter, not the Hall of Menelaus, all brilliant with gold, ivory, and the beauty of Helen, but a wretched garret, where I see some pale, dejected-looking fellows. At once they ask me



with an air of great interest what bad news I am bringing them. 'But everything is going well in the city,' I replied, 'and we are all delighted at it.' They, knitting their eyebrows and shaking their heads, say, 'No, no; the city is big with misfortunes.' Then, like persons sure of what they are relating, they begin to retail a thousand absurdities, — that the world is going to change; that the city will be a prey to dissensions; that our armies will be conquered. Unable to contain myself, I cry out, 'You wretched creatures, stop your contemptible chatter! and may the misfortunes which you desire for your country fall on your own heads!'"

Did Marcus Aurelius read the *Apologies* presented to his two predecessors and himself? We cannot say. If he knew them, the *Λόγος* of Saint Justin ought to have given him pleasure. But agreeing in sentiment with the Christians, he differed from them totally in theological doctrine, — a situation which has often prevented kindred souls from understanding one another. With his Stoic ideas respecting the soul of the world, of which the different gods were the external manifestation, he could not comprehend the Christian dogma of the Trinity, nor of God made man in the womb of a virgin. And as by way of recompense he looked for nothing more than the satisfaction found in the fulfilment of duty, as he asked for no hope of a future life, he reckoned as worthless the propagation among the vulgar of this belief in a glorious resurrection of the flesh and the spirit, which the wise had not discovered in the depths of their own reason. These two doctrines, of which the one sacrificed heaven to earth, and the other earth to heaven, were of necessity hostile. In the announcement of the kingdom of God expected by the faithful, Marcus Aurelius saw in addition a menace to the Empire; and in the Sibyl's prophecy of the approaching destruction of Rome, a sacrilegious impiety.<sup>1</sup> Finally, if he rejected the scandalous stories of Olympus, he religiously observed the rites in honor of these gods, whom his soul had purified and his doctrine had reunited to the First Cause. He was then not, like Hadrian, a sceptic, and consequently a tolerant

<sup>1</sup> This prophecy was current in the time of Antoninus; cf. Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyll.* liv. viii. v. 73 *et seq.* It threatened "the three Emperors" (Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Verus) with the return of Nero, ὁ φυχὰς μητροκτόνος, that is to say, of Antichrist.

man; philosophy had made him a pagan of a peculiar sort, one who remained a believer and very devout.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he was a ruler; and the basis of his morality being the absolute submission of the individual to the laws of reason, the basis of his policy was the absolute submission of the citizen to the laws of the state. Accord



MARCUS AURELIUS SACRIFICING BEFORE THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER.<sup>2</sup>

ingly, when in the early days of his reign the populace, maddened with terror by the famine and the inundations, rose up against the Christians and demanded their punishment to appease the Roman gods, he allowed the prefect of Rome, Junius Rusticus, his former teacher, to apply the laws. Among the condemned was Justin Martyr, who seems to have brought upon himself his fate by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Capit., *M. Ant.* 13, and Amm. Marcellin. XXV. iv. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (Capitol, Palace of the Conservatori).



generous vehemence of his second *Apology*.<sup>1</sup> There was, however, no rescript of the Emperor, for Tertullian, who was living in the time of Marcus Aurelius, asserts that he did not promulgate one; but special victims were struck by edicts of certain governors,—a thing which, according to Saint Melito, had never yet been seen:<sup>2</sup> thus perished two bishops of proconsular Asia at Smyrna and Laodicea. Towards the end of this reign, in 177, many executions took place at Lyons as the result of a popular outbreak. Eusebius has preserved a letter in which the Christians of that city relate to the brethren in Asia the distresses of the infant Church. It is therefore a contemporary document, in which may be seen in action the violence of the people, the credulity of the judge, and the ardent faith which sprang from a hope of immortality.

“First we were driven away from the baths, public buildings, and all places open to the public; then we had to suffer the insults, blows, and violent acts of an infuriated multitude.” Thus the tragedy begins; the populace becomes infuriated against men who, from the simple fact of being Christians, insult all that it believes and all that it loves, its religion and its pleasures. Persecution opens with a riot.

The second act is marked by the intervention of the authorities. Charged with the maintenance of peace in the city, the magistrate makes the Christians responsible for the disorder of which they have been the exciting cause. A tribune and his soldiers bring them to the forum. On their avowal that they are Christians, the duumvirs apply Trajan's law to their case; they are seized and shut up in prison until the return of the governor. The latter on his arrival interrogates them at his tribunal, around which is collected a crowd whom the soldiers with difficulty keep in order. Yet the course of procedure is slow, and its forms are observed. The public avowal of *Christianizing* is sufficient for

<sup>1</sup> M. Renan (*L'Église chrétienne*, p. 491) places Justin's death under Antoninus, but with hesitation.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless there is found in the *Digest* (xlviii. 19, 30) a rescript of Marcus Aurelius which condemns to banishment on an island those who disturb men's minds by superstitious practices. This rescript certainly had reference to the Christians. I should like to consider it a means furnished to judges for pronouncing against them some punishment other than death, and we know that a certain number of Christians were in fact sent into Sardinia. (See, in Vol. VI. the reign of Commodus.) As regards Polycarp's martyrdom, in the time of Aurelius, we have followed the opinions of M. Waddington. (See above, p. 449.)

condemnation; but the judge has heard other crimes mentioned: he wishes to know what they are, and orders an inquiry.

In this terrible drama of outbreaks produced by popular excitement, the excess of credulity equals the audacity of unscrupulous falsehood; everywhere and always passion and fear furnish to troubled imaginations accusations which are greedily accepted. "The pagan servants of these champions of Christ are brought before the judge; from fear of tortures and by the solicitations of the soldiers, the slaves are induced to confess that we commit all manner of abominations. These calumnies being spread abroad amongst the public, such anger arises against us that even our nearest kindred share the fury of the governor, the soldiers, and the people."

Meanwhile a Roman citizen, wealthy and of influence in the city, named Vettius Epagathus, steps forth from the crowd and says to the governor, "I claim to defend these men, and I engage to prove that they have not committed any of the crimes brought against them." "Then you are yourself a Christian, since you wish to take their cause in hand?" "I am." He is immediately arrested and placed among the accused, indicted with being "the Christians' advocate."

More than ten of them, yielding to threats, denied their faith and promised to sacrifice to the gods; but the rest confounded the executioners by their calmness. A young slave, Blandina, weak and ailing, found strength in the very tortures. From morning till evening she was tortured. Her body formed but one wound, her bones were as if broken, her joints torn apart; but the same exclamation continually came from her, "I am a Christian; no evil is committed among us!" The exaltation arising from her faith made her bodily nature insensible to pain.

Tortures being useless, "the victims were loaded with chains, which served them for ornament, like the gold fringe to the robe of a young bride," and they were thrown into an infectious cell, where many of them perished. Pothinus was then ninety years old. "His soul," says Eusebius, "remained in his body only that it might render a last testimony to the triumph of Christ. 'Who is the god of the Christians?' the judge asked him. 'You will know Him if you are worthy,' he replied. He



was led to prison in the midst of the insults of the crowd, and died there on the third day."

At first four only of the prisoners were condemned, — Attalus, being a citizen, to be beheaded; Sanctus and Maturus, as provincials, and Blandina, as being a slave, to be thrown to the wild beasts.



GALLIC JUPITER FOUND AT LYONS.<sup>1</sup>

The letter from the faithful of Lyons expresses with innocent grace this combination of all conditions. "The martyrs offered to God a wreath of divers colors, in which all kinds of flowers were well assorted." A feast-day had been expressly fixed for their execution. On its eve, the condemned took their last supper together in public, and the next day those who were destined for the beasts were led to the arena. Attalus, who could not be executed without the Emperor's order, had been kept in prison. When the crowd saw that he was not given over to their amusement, they demanded him with loud cries. He was brought in and led round the amphitheatre with this writing on his breast: "This is Attalus the Christian." The crowd roared with

fury; it revenged itself on the other martyrs. The wild beasts would have killed them in a moment, and were not permitted to attack, but each spectator tried to imagine some fresh torture or recall some forgotten punishment. Cries arising from all the seats of the amphitheatre excited the executioners. "Now for the wedges,

<sup>1</sup> Small bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,929.

the pincers, the plates of heated copper. Lacerate, but do not kill!" When there remained no place on these poor bodies where the torture had not passed, they were placed on an iron chair made red hot, and a sword-thrust put an end to their lives. Blandina, fastened to a stake in the centre of the amphitheatre, had witnessed all that was done; the beasts had been let loose at her, but they did not touch her, and the people, tired out, postponed her death to another festival. On this day there were no gladiators; the soldiers of Christ had furnished amusement enough to the ferocious multitude.

Persecution immediately bore its fruits; the other captives felt themselves strengthened, and the apostates returned to their faith, calling for punishments to prove the sincerity of their return. "The living members of the Church had raised the dead to life." Marcus Aurelius, consulted about accused citizens, had replied that the law must take its course: those who persisted should be beheaded, and those who recanted set free. Lyons was about to celebrate on August 1st the festival of all Gaul; the persecution was resumed and went on rapidly: there was need to be ready for the games.

It is to the honor of human nature that injustice revolts it, excites it, and produces that contagion of self-sacrifice which has given martyrs to all great causes, and sometimes even to bad ones. During the new examinations a spectator was touched by the courage of the victims, and showed a pity for them which exasperated the crowd. He was immediately denounced to the governor. "Who are you?" the latter asked him. "A Christian," he replied, and took his place among the martyrs. The festival arrived. Eighteen confessors had already perished in the prison; two had been killed in the amphitheatre; twenty-eight were reserved for death, some by the sword, as being citizens, the rest by the wild beasts.

Two Greeks, come from a long distance on their way to the Christians' common country, opened the games, Attalus of Pergamus and Alexander of Phrygia. They endured all the customary tortures. Attalus, on the red-hot chair, pointing to the smoke of his burned flesh, which spread itself through the amphitheatre, simply said, "In truth, to do what you are doing is to devour men; but as for us, we do not eat them or commit any other



evil." To devour infants! That was the charge which had provoked the outbreak, followed by the trial and tortures.<sup>1</sup>

Blandina and Ponticus had been present at the shocking spectacle, their own sufferings being reserved for the last day of the festival. When they were led in, the crowd for a moment felt pity for them, they were so young; Ponticus was scarcely fifteen. "Swear by the gods!" a thousand voices called out. Blandina strengthened her companion's courage, and he bore all the torments till he expired. She herself "met death as if going to a marriage feast." Again all forms of torture were employed in her case. After being scourged, torn by the wild beasts, placed in the red-hot chair, she was wrapped up in a net and a furious bull let loose at her. "Thus," says Eusebius, "the blessed Blandina died the last, like a courageous mother who, after having sustained her children during the fight, sends them on in advance to the king to announce the victory." What an overturning of ideas has taken place since that day, what a revolution in social

conditions! Christian Lyons now venerates and holds in honor the poor slave whom ancient society despised and crushed under its feet.



AUREUS OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>2</sup>

The other persons condemned were all Romans, twelve men and as many women. This last figure shows with what success the new faith had spoken to the hearts of those whom God has made most capable of devotion. They were beheaded near the altar of Augustus, and their bodies given to the dogs, or else burned and the ashes thrown into the Rhone. Thus by the complete destruction of the flesh the persecutors hoped to destroy also their victims' hope of a resurrection of the body. "Let us see now," they said, "whether these Christians will rise again."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> While false as regards the Christians, the accusation might be true respecting others. In all periods traffickers in the occult sciences professed to obtain the favor of the devil by sacrificing to him the most innocent creatures; *i. e.*, infants. An infant's blood was required for their magical operations. This took place even in Louis XIV.'s time; the Abbé Guibourg and La Voisin confessed having slain several (*Archives de la Bastille*, vol. vi.).

<sup>2</sup> Emperor's head; reverse, Rome, helmeted, holding Victory in her hand.

<sup>3</sup> The Christian community at Lyons must nevertheless have been few in number. We have many inscriptions of this city, and those which relate to Christians do not appear before the fourth century. The same is the case as regards Nîmes.





BATTLE WITH THE MARCOMANNI (ATLAS DU BULL. ARCH., I. PL. 30).





This very conspicuous execution aroused the pagan zeal of some governors, that especially of the proconsul of Africa, who sent to the torture Namphamo and his companions, the first African martyrs. We may also regard the Scillitanes, put to death July 17, 180, as victims of the odious policy adopted by Marcus Aurelius.

When the victorious Church had conferred upon herself the sovereign power of deciding what is necessary to be believed and to be done, she in turn sent victims to the torture. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius punished those who refused to obey certain laws of the state; the Inquisitors burned those who did not think as they did on heavenly things. The former believed that they were protecting society, the latter considered themselves to be defending religion; both were deceived. In a rude soldier like Trajan the error is not surprising; we wonder at it in the case of Marcus Aurelius, who ought to have understood that his duty as a philosopher and a man was to examine these doctrines thoroughly in order to judge of them, and to weigh these accusations in order to silence them. But he liked neither books, nor sciences, nor history, which would have given him a virtue which they impart, — tolerance; and he took delight only in pure speculation,<sup>1</sup> which, like a too generous wine, often inebriates and blinds. Every political fault brings after it its punishment. That society which laughed at the sufferings of the Christians is still under the malediction of the Church, which it does not wholly deserve; and the executions ordered or permitted by Marcus Aurelius have left a stain on the purest name in antiquity.

It is right to say also that history, allured by this purity, has given too high a place to the Emperor. In his reign of nineteen years we find neither new institutions,<sup>2</sup> great feats of war, nor an advantageous peace; simply one noble book. That is sufficient for the thinker, but too little for the chief of an empire. We place him, then, among those men to whom we owe the highest respect, but not in the rank of those rulers who have deserved best of their country. Plato said, and Marcus Aurelius repeats it: "Happy those peoples where the philosophers are kings, or where their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pensées*, i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Jus autem magis vetus restituit quam novum instituit* (Capit., *M. Ant.* 11).



kings are philosophers!" Rather let each do his own work, the philosopher in the schools, and the ruler in affairs of state.

At the same time I am reluctant to close in appearing to throw too dark a shadow over this noble figure. There are two kinds of statesmen, — those who are especially pre-occupied with the useful, and those who think more of the honorable. The former lead men by their interests; the latter seek to hold them and lead them by the exalted qualities of their nature. The latter class often fail, but they are always respected; of this number was Marcus Aurelius. And so, when in the Piazza del Campidoglio we contemplate his equestrian statue, the magnificent and life-like work of an unknown sculptor, we feel it fitting that the figure of the Emperor who was, by his lofty morality, the purest expression of imperial power, should be the one to remain alone untouched and standing above the ruins of the city of the Caesars.

<sup>1</sup> Bronze Coin.



LUCILLA, DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS.<sup>1</sup>

# THE EMPIRE AND ROMAN SOCIETY ,

IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF OUR ERA.

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## CHAPTER LXXXII.

### THE FAMILY.

#### I. — FATHER AND CHILD.

HALF of a people's history, and the more authentic half, is written in its laws. Military history, more noisy, and political history, more dramatic, deal only with exteriors; and battles, and revolutions originating in the palace or the barrack, resemble one another, notwithstanding the difference in periods, in weapons, dress, and motives. But the inner life of a nation, its life from day to day and from one century to the next, is mirrored in its laws and remains in them forever. At the epoch of the Antonines, the Romans had nearly completed the vast work, not of their codes, which appeared later, but of their civil legislation; and they had conferred citizenship upon the greater number of their subjects. The well-known figures of the census make it evident that at the death of Marcus Aurelius the Empire had sixty-five million citizens.<sup>1</sup> What is about to be said of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> The Monument of Ancyra gives about five million citizens in the year 14 A. D. Tacitus raises the number to about seven millions in the year 47 (*Ann.* xl. 25); that is, an increase of two millions in thirty-four years, notwithstanding the recommendation of Augustus to be sparing in the concession of citizenship. Under Claudius there were thirty million citizens, with an annual increase of two hundred and sixty thousand. Under the Flavian Emperors, who founded so many colonies, and under the Antonines, who were provincial Emperors, the increase through diverse causes, which it is needless here to enumerate, must have been much more rapid. However, if we suppose it to have been only the same as in the preceding period, the hundred and thirty-three years which separate the census of Claudius from the death of Marcus Aurelius would have raised the number to nearly fifteen millions. Now, making the



family must therefore be regarded as applicable also to most of the provincial families. The latter had the same civil rights with native-born Romans, the same forms of worship, and nearly the same customs, — some few usages excepted, and the difference being taken into account which everywhere exists between the life of a great capital and that of obscure cities. It is not intended to detail here all the principles of civil and administrative law of the Empire, for this would concern the jurisconsult; but we require to know the organization of the family and of the city, those two primary elements of society which are not creations of the law, since they existed before the state, — elements which communicate their strength or their weakness to the social system. When we remember the historical circumstances which among the Romans had determined the organization of both, we shall understand how the state, kept firm in the midst of storms by these two safe anchors, continued during centuries strong and prosperous, in spite of so many political commotions.

The Roman by descent was a freeman, a citizen, and a member of a family.<sup>1</sup> From this threefold condition, certified by the census-books, the taxation-rolls, and the registers of births which Marcus Aurelius ordered to be kept, and in case of need by evidence of witnesses, were derived those private rights which constituted the civil condition, or, as the law expressed it, the *caput* of each citizen.

These rights, called in the language of the jurisconsults *powers*, were four in number, — the *potestas dominica*, the right of the master over his slave; the *patria potestas*, that of the father over the child; the *manus*, the right of a husband over his wife; the *mancipium*, the right of a freeman over another freeman whom the law had permitted him to seize (*manu capere*). The *dominium*, or right of Quiritarian ownership, had reference to things.

Let us say at once that persons possessing these powers could

usual estimate of the number of women and children,  $15 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  gives a total population of sixty five millions. Hence we have every reason to conclude that at the end of the second century the great majority of the provincials enjoyed the right of Roman citizenship.

<sup>1</sup> The Roman citizens were divided into *ingenui*, who were free born, and *libertini*, who had once been slaves; into persons *alieni juris*, subject to another's power or held in a sort of bondage which will be explained later, and persons *sui juris*, who were absolutely independent, or subjected, by tutelage or guardianship, to only a temporary suspension of their full liberty.

undergo three sorts of changes in condition, which were called *diminutions*:<sup>1</sup> the greatest, by the loss of liberty; that next in importance, by the loss of citizenship; the smallest, by the change of family. As regards the *dominium*, it was naturally extinguished by the loss or alienation of the property.

Freedom was acquired by birth or enfranchisement: it was lost by certain judicial sentences or by captivity in an enemy's country. In the latter case the loss was not definitive. If the captive returned, he was counted not to have ceased being a citizen; he again entered into his previous legal condition and recovered, by virtue of the *jus postliminii*, all his rights except those whose existence implied an actual continuity, such as possession and marriage.<sup>2</sup> Freedom was protected by a praetorian interdict *de libero homine exhibendo*, which prevented, like the *habeas corpus* of English law, arbitrary detentions.

Roman citizenship was acquired by birth, naturalization, and enfranchisement. In order that a child should be a citizen by birth, it was necessary that the father be a citizen at the time of conception and that the marriage (*connubium*) should have been performed with all the legal forms. Without *justae nuptiae* the children assumed the condition which the mother had at the time of their birth. It followed from this principle that a woman reduced, as the result of a judicial sentence, to a state of slavery after conception, gave birth to a slave. Hadrian modified this rigorous provision by deciding that a woman free at any time during her pregnancy should give birth to a free child. Naturalization was granted by a law, and later by an imperial ordinance, sometimes to an individual, sometimes to a city or a people. The *Latini* and the *Latini Juniani* could obtain it on fulfilling certain conditions or by imperial favor.<sup>3</sup>

From citizenship were derived certain rights which the provincials did not possess, —

<sup>1</sup> *Capitis deminutio maxima, media, minima.*

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Topica*, 8; Gaius, *Inst.* i. 129; *Digest*, xlix. 15. Cf. *Jus postliminii*, by Bechmann (Erlangen, 1873). An old law recalled by Plautus, *Stichus*, 28–30, declared the marriage null and void at the end of the third year of absence: *Neque id inmerito eveniet: nam viri nostri domo ut abierunt hic tertius annus.* Julianus (in the *Digest*, xxiv. 2, 6) required in the case of the wife of a soldier taken by the enemy an interval of five years: *Sin autem in incerto est an vivus apud hostes . . . vel morte praeventus . . . quinquennium.*

<sup>3</sup> Ulpian, *Lib. reg. tit.* iii. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 4 and 6.



1. Political rights: the *jus suffragii*, which was extinguished under the Empire, Tiberius having closed the comitia of the Roman people, which at that time had only a formal existence; and the *jus honorum*, which then suffered certain restrictions.<sup>1</sup>

2. Civil rights: the *jus connubii*, which allowed the contracting of *justae nuptiae*, or legal marriages, without which there could exist neither the *patria potestas* nor the *jus agnationis* with its important effects on succession; the *jus commercii*, or the right to acquire property with ability to dispose of it according to the rules of civil law, and by consequence with the right of making a will.

At Rome ownership of land had a character both political and religious. The state, the original proprietor, had instituted individual ownership by distributing to the citizens lands whose boundaries had been traced by the augurs and were guarded by the god Terminus. Proceeding from the state and consecrated by religion, this Quiritarian property is obtainable only by those who are members of the sovereign state and worshippers of her gods; *i. e.* by citizens only. They do what they please with their property; they are free to use or to misuse it. Still, the idea of the superior rights of the state, or rather that of the common weal, imposed certain restrictions. Although since the end of the Social War (*Lex Julia*, 89 B. C.) the Italian soil had become Quiritarian land, it often happened that decrees promulgated for the foundation of colonies obliged the inhabitants to give up to colonists a part of their lands. The execution, by the state or by a city, of works needful to the community, required also expropriation for the sake of public utility. Did the expropriated owners receive compensation? Assuredly not when colonies were in question; probably they did when they were dispossessed for the construction of a road, an aqueduct, or a sewer, etc. At least this practice was established under the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the reign of Claudius a senatus-consultum was needed to grant to Gauls already citizens the right of aspiring to the Roman Senate and the offices of state.

<sup>2</sup> Frontinus, *De Aquaed.* 6. The Republic had laid down the principle of the right belonging to the state to resume without indemnity the public domain lands, the enjoyment of which had been conceded. The Empire repudiated this harsh law; the Emperors prohibited later the treasury putting forth any claims on the property of which they had received the money value. A rescript of Alexander Severus says, *Ne fiscus rem quam vendidit evincet* (Cod. x. sect. 1).

Citizenship was lost, and with it all civil rights, in the case of him who became a slave *jure civili*, or whom a sentence condemned to hard labor for life and the interdiction of water and fire, or else to transportation, — two penalties, formerly of different grade, but having become equal. Naturalization in a foreign state also caused the loss of citizenship; and by foreigners (*peregrini*) the Romans meant individuals and peoples who, while included in the Empire, had not the freedom of the city. Even the citizens who went away to found a colony underwent the *media deminutio capitis*.

Thus we see what were the rights of the citizen; let us now enter the family.

The man of free condition, even though a magistrate, did not acquire the full dignity of the citizen until he became the father of a family; for as such only did he possess the rights which gave him a sacred character. Then, as head of the family, he was priest of the Lares; he had absolute power as husband over his wife (*manus*), as father over his children (*patria potestas*), as master over his slaves (*dominica potestas*), while he himself, responsible to no other, was *sui juris*. The Roman idea was that no authority should be interposed between father and son, husband and wife. For them the domestic hearth was a sacred asyllum, into which not even the law's representative could penetrate.<sup>1</sup>

Political history has shown us that the sentiment of personal dignity, powerfully developed by this unlimited authority, formed in Rome a proud and powerful aristocracy, identifying its own greatness with that of the country, and submitting only to the laws itself had made. All the destiny of Rome up to the time of the Empire was hid in this right of fathers, the civil effects of which we shall now attempt to show.

In order to follow the formation of the family, we must speak of the mother before being concerned with the child, and must study the rights of the husband before those of the father; but the latter explain the former and oblige us to reverse the natural order.

The idea which the Roman jurisconsults had formed of marriage made a certainty of the legitimacy of children born during

<sup>1</sup> *Domus tutissimum cuique refugium atque receptaculum (Digest, xi 4, 18); . . . de domo sua nemo extrahi debet (ibid. 21).*



the union; hence the famous axiom: *Is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant*. The child born out of wedlock or of a forbidden union could plead his maternal filiation, but not the other; for in the eyes of the law he had no father, and no one had over him the rights of the *patria potestas*, which was, much more than the natural tie, the true bond of the family.

The paternal power is an elementary fact derived from nature itself, and was supreme in what is called the patriarchal period. The Romans expanded it into a political institution; hence its force with this arbitrary race, this people of soldiers, always threatening or being threatened, and constrained by the historic circumstances of their national life to bring everything under discipline, families as well as the state.

In lawful marriage the father's power laid hold on the child from the moment of its birth, and extended even to the right of life and death. The new-born infant is laid at the feet of its judge. If it is taken up, — that is to say, recognized, — it shall live; if it is left on the ground, it is because the father casts it off. In that case it is carried away and placed at some cross-roads, where it soon dies unless some slave-merchant pick it up in order to sell it. The father has his reasons when he thus does violence to nature: first, doubts as to paternity, as in the case of the Emperor Claudius,<sup>1</sup> who ordered his daughter to be cast down at the corner of a boundary; sometimes also poverty, or a family already numerous. “Why let beings live who will know only misfortune?” said Chremes in the *Heautontimorumenos*.<sup>2</sup> Feebleness of constitution, deformity, brought destruction: Rome required vigorous soldiers, robust laborers; and when that requirement no longer existed, the fatal practice continued, and is found in the second century of our era.

In the absence of the father, judgment is suspended till his return; the newly born is only provisionally nourished. Sometimes the father has given his consent before quitting home. “Bring up whatever is born in my absence.”<sup>3</sup> Strange phraseology!

<sup>1</sup> Augustus caused the child of the second Julia to be killed (Suet., *Oct.* 65).

<sup>2</sup> That is at least the general sense of vv. 634–64.

<sup>3</sup> *Quod erit gnatum me absente tollito*. Cf. Plaut., *Amph.* 501; Ovid., *Met.* ix. 678; Juvenal, *Sat.* ix. 84; Statius, *Sylv.* ii. 1, 79; Terent., *Andr.* 219. This right was still practised at the end of the second century: *Pater peregre proficiscens mandavit uxori suae . . . ut si sexus*

*Whatever is born!*—as might be said of the young of animals. A son is regarded as useful,—a laborer for the family, a soldier for the state, a guaranty that the race shall be perpetuated, a pledge that the ancestral worship shall not be suffered to die out, that the *Sacra Gentilitia* shall never lack sacrifices. Hence the expression, *auctus filio*, “augmented by a son.”

After the law *Papia Poppaea*, passed by Augustus, paternity was furthermore a title to honors and profits. “Thou hast the rights of a father,” says Juvenal; “that is to say, thou art inscribed on the register of the public treasury. Henceforth thou canst be an heir, canst inherit legacies of all kinds, canst even possess the share reserved for the treasury (*dulce caducum*); . . . if thou seekest an office, thou shalt be preferred to thy competitors; as a magistrate, thou shalt have precedence over thy colleagues.”<sup>1</sup>

Paternity, besides its natural joys, received therefore at Rome and in the provinces wherever citizens existed, special privileges,—the *jus trium liberorum*, which those enjoyed who had at least three children, or who obtained, by special privilege from the Emperor, the right of being considered as if they had. Three children, even if born out of wedlock,<sup>2</sup> gave the Latin woman Roman citizenship, and as a consequence a share in the distributions. This encouraged loose morals; but the ancients did not always possess our refinement of feeling, and the Emperors were anxious by all means to recruit that class of free men which was daily decreasing.<sup>3</sup>

The birth of a son is a piece of good fortune to be joyously celebrated, a happy day to be marked in white. The whole house assumes an air of festivity. The door is crowned with garlands of flowers and leaves.<sup>4</sup> “See,” says Plautus, “the spring-time has come . . .” If the family are in mourning, they lay

*sequioris edidisset foetum . . . necaretur* (Apul., *Metam.* x.). Seneca says (*De Ira*, i. 15), approving it: *Portentosos foetus extinguimus, liberos quoque, si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus*. It is the practice in barbarous times, which still exists in China and Africa. The journal of the *Missions catholiques* related some years ago, according to a letter from the apostolic prefect of Zanzibar, that the Wazarmos, a tribe in the vicinity of the mission establishments, throw to the wild beasts infants born on Friday or during the full moon, and those afflicted with the least bodily defect. For a sum of from two to five francs these savages finally agreed to give up their infants (*mbaya*) to the missionaries.

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* ix. 87. See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *vulgo concepti* (Ulpian, *Lib. reg.* iii. 61).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 267, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Trucul.* 345.



aside their sombre garments. The present rejoicing banishes the former lamentation.

The eighth day is the day of purification for girls; for boys it is the ninth. This solemnity gives occasion for a family reunion followed by a repast. The oldest female relative in a loud voice expresses good wishes for the newly born. "It is," says



PURIFICATION.<sup>1</sup>

Persius,<sup>2</sup> "the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or some pious woman, who takes up the infant from its cradle. First with the middle finger she rubs the forehead and the moist lips of the newly born with saliva to purify it; then she strikes it lightly with her two hands; and already in her supplications she has sent forth this frail creature with her hopes to the possession of the rich

<sup>1</sup> Scene of purification by the lustral water. Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, breaks off an olive-branch to sprinkle young children, while a priestess draws the water from the river which will serve for purification. Enlarged copy from a coin of Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* ii. 31-36.

domains of Licinius." The ceremony being ended, the name of the now purified child is inscribed on the public registers.<sup>1</sup>

The child, rich or poor, will preserve a religious respect for his birthday, and will observe its anniversary religiously.<sup>2</sup> He will invite all the members of his family to this annual festival; and surrounded by this joyous assembly, he will present offerings to the Lares and to his own tutelary genius. "Do not expect," says sadly the exiled Ovid, "that on my natal day a white robe shall cover my shoulders, the altar be garlanded with flowers, that incense burn, and that I utter vows and prayers."<sup>3</sup> On that day no victims are sacrificed. It is not permissible that the image of death should darken the pure sky. Those who are too poor to obtain a white robe, put on at least one that has just been cleansed; and it is common to say of a person scrupulous about his toilet, "he is clad as if for a birthday."

It is also the day for presents. The relatives and friends make gifts to one another. A neglect of this custom is regarded as an incivility, and is likely to give offence. Inquire of Martial on this point. He is in disgrace with Sextus for a negligence of this kind. He gave no present on his friend's birthday, and Sextus does not invite him to the feast. The Emperor does like the other citizens, he receives and gives; and since he is the father of his country, the anniversary of his birth is a public festival throughout the whole Empire.

In the families of the great, the newly born child was given in charge to a nurse, who from that day became an important person in the family, and preserved to her last hour the affection



A NURSE (AFTER A BAS-RELIEF).

<sup>1</sup> The Roman had three names, sometimes four. *Propriorum nominum quatuor sunt species*, say the grammarians Diomedes and Priseianus, — Praenomen, *quod nominibus gentilitiis praepositur, ut Marcus, Publius*; nomen, *quod originem gentis vel familiae declarat, ut Portius, Cornelius*; cognomen *est quod uniuseujusque proprium est, ut Cato, Scipio*; agnomen *est quod extrinsecus cognominibus adjici solet, ex aliqua ratione vel virtute quaesitum, ut est Africanus, Numantinus, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 422, Hadrian's letter to his mother.

<sup>3</sup> *Trist.* iii. 13.



of him whom she had brought up. Pliny and Dasumius bequeath to their nurses a small house, a field, some slaves, with the flock of sheep, the necessary farm implements, and a small capital to work with; Domitian gives to his a villa on the Via Latina. On her part, the nurse, always the favorite servant, is faithful and devoted until death. When everything is falling to pieces, when the friends of yesterday flee in terror, she is there by the blood-

SCENE AT SCHOOL.<sup>1</sup>

stained corpse; it is she who saves from the Gemoniae the remains of Nero or the last Flavian, and conveys them secretly to the ancestral tomb.

Not all matrons relinquish to a slave or a freedwoman the charge of nursing the child. Sixteen centuries before Rousseau, Favorinus had urged the mother's duty as nurse, and inscriptions prove that the ancient philosopher had, like him of modern times, gained over at least some women to this first duty of motherhood.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After a painting at Herculaneum; cf. Rich, *Dict. des Ant. rom. et gr.*

<sup>2</sup> Aulus Gellius, xii. 1; Orelli, No. 2,677: . . . *quae filios suos propriis uberibus educavit.* Mommsen, *Inscr. regni Neapol.* No. 1,092.

Meanwhile the child grows. Good masters are given him, and the father tries not to set him too bad an example. It is a Roman satirist, Juvenal, who wrote these words, the supreme rule in education: *Maxima debetur puero reverentia*. We must respect the child, and take care that in his daily haunts nothing shameful be seen or heard.<sup>1</sup> We are accustomed to think that there is in an infant's cradle some gentle and beneficent influence bringing peace into a troubled household or driving away bad practices, and we like to believe that this thought is of recent date; it is as old as this bitter censor, and existed in the minds of many of his contemporaries: "If thou art concocting any guilty project, the sight of thy son will stop thee."<sup>2</sup> The education was generally of a manly sort, with less of that weak indulgence which in our days so often makes the child a domestic tyrant.<sup>3</sup> The discipline at home prepared for the discipline of the state, and respect for the father led to respect for the magistrate and the law.

YOUNG ROMAN WEARING THE BULLA.<sup>4</sup>

At about fifteen or sixteen puberty is reached;<sup>5</sup> the boy lays

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* xiv. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 49: *Peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans*.

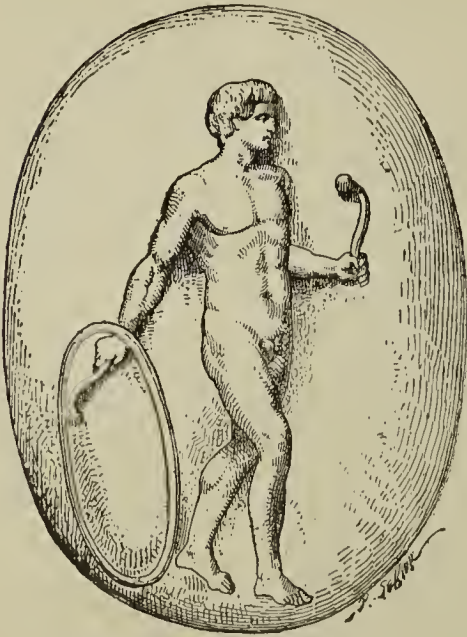
<sup>3</sup> *Longe ab adsentatione pueritia removenda est; audiat verum et timeat interim; vereatur semper; majoribus assurgat* (Sen., *De Ira*, ii. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Small bronze figure in the Museum of the Louvre.

<sup>5</sup> Legal puberty, fixed at seventeen in the most ancient law, was under the Empire lowered to fourteen for boys and twelve for girls (Macrob., *Saturn.* vii. 17). It was the age fixed at Genetiva (cap. xeviii.) for the end of minority; confirmed by Justinian in *Code*, v. 60, 3.



aside the *praetexta*, hangs his gold or leathern *bullæ* around the



PLAYING AT HOOP (TROCHUS).<sup>1</sup>

neck of one of the Lares, and bids farewell to his boyish amusements, his games with nuts, the top, the swing, the hoop, the stick which has served him for ten years as a horse; he assumes the *toga virilis* and becomes a citizen. From that day Propertius, Ovid, Perseus, Seneca, all date their existence. Then they began to feel themselves men, at liberty to go about the city freely. Coming to that point in their lives whence various roads diverge, each one attractive and full of promise, they stop a moment, then make their

choice. The epoch has left a durable impression on their minds, and through their lives memory, with joy or with regret, often recurs to it.

The assumption of the *toga virilis* takes place yearly on the 16th before the kalends of March (17th February), at the time of the *Liberalia*, or feasts of Bacchus, "the ever-youthful god, whose name is Liber."<sup>2</sup> To the prestige of religion is united the impressive gravity of a reunion of all the members of the family. To propitiate the gods, the youth passes the last night of his childhood covered, like a bride on the eve of her nuptials, with a white material and a saffron-colored sort of network. Is it not indeed a betrothal which is now about to be made, — the indissoluble union of the new citizen to the city?

In the morning, the whole family having met, the father or nearest male relative delivers to the youth the toga called *pura*, because it is white and without the purple border which the *praetexta* has; *libera*, because it frees him from the restraints of boyhood; *virilis*, because it makes him a man and a citizen. This robe is assumed in the presence of the household gods, who are invoked: *Ante deos libera sumpta toga*, says Propertius.<sup>3</sup> Then

<sup>1</sup> After Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. ined.* i. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 773 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Eleg.* IV. i. 130.

they go up to the Capitol to offer sacrifice to the gods of Rome. Thence the newly made citizen, beaming with happiness, returns with his attendant kindred to the public place, the Forum, as if there to take possession of his rights. "Thou hast not forgotten," writes Seneca to Lucilius, "what was thy joy when, having laid aside the *praetexta*, thou didst assume the *toga virilis* and wast led to the Forum."<sup>1</sup> Thus the most solemn act in the life of a young Roman is not, as with us, a religious ceremony only, it is also a civic festival. The gods are in the background,

THE GAME OF SWINGING.<sup>2</sup>

the city stands first; for it is the latter whose figure dominates the whole solemnity. Hence we do not wonder that this city is so strong.

An important detail of the festival is the offering to Bacchus of a honey-cake, the only gift that he receives. At Rome on the day of the Liberalia the streets are filled with old women wearing ivy-wreaths, who sell these consecrated cakes, which they have themselves prepared. "Why honey-cakes?" asks Ovid, who is critical as to the meaning of the old ceremonies. "Because honey was discovered by Bacchus. Why prepared by women?"

<sup>1</sup> Sen. *Epist.* 4, *initio*.

<sup>2</sup> After Millingen, *Ant. ined. monum.*, pl. xxx. A very similar painting is seen on a vase in the Museum of the Louvre.



Because with his thyrsus he guides the choir of Nymphs. Why old women? Because old age loves the gifts of the luxuriant grape. Why crowned with ivy? Because this plant shielded Bacchus when sought for by a cruel mother?"<sup>1</sup> Each family purchases these sacred cakes, and the young man carries some of them to the altar of the god who loves honey and the vine. To do him still more honor, the festival terminates with a prolonged banquet, where wine flows freely. Serious matters are postponed till the morrow.

Yesterday it was boyhood and games; to-morrow it will be active and responsible life. In fact, on the following day the boy, now regarded as a man, must begin his new existence. If poor, he will learn a trade; if rich, he will be placed with a jurisconsult, or sent to a provincial governor to make his apprenticeship in arms or civil service. If he belongs to the senatorial or equestrian order, he is permitted in Rome or in his municipium to be present at the deliberations of the curia, that he may become initiated into civic and state affairs.

We see him, then, a citizen. He votes in the comitia, he holds office, he becomes praetor, consul, pontiff; but he remains a son. Nothing has impaired that which Livy calls "the paternal majesty." Free towards the state, he is not so in the family. Whatever his age or his public office, the son continues under his father's power; and the latter, master of his children just as he is of his slaves and his other property, may crush their dearest affections, even breaking up the new family which they may have established. If when giving his daughter in marriage the father did not emancipate her or transfer her to the authority of her husband, he can at pleasure dissolve the union to which he had previously given his consent.<sup>2</sup> Roman paternity was as much a right of property as it was a domestic magistracy.

The paternal authority remained in force until the death of him who was invested with it, and extended over all his lineal posterity. The right of life and death which the father had over his children at their birth he still possessed after they had attained

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, iii. 761 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> By pleading against his son-in-law the interdict *de liberis exhibendis*. Cf. Cic., *Ad Her.* ii. 24; the *Stichus* of Plautus; and the very terms of the law preserved by Julianus in his lib. i. *ad edictum praetoris*, in the *Digest*, iii. 2, 1.

maturity, or even had been invested with the honors of magistracy. In cases of crime he was their judge, to the exclusion of the public tribunals; and the strictness of the early Roman morals insured the punishment of the guilty, while at the same time natural affection prevented abuse.

Under Augustus a father pronounces a sentence of exile against his son,<sup>1</sup> and another condemns his to be scourged to death; a third, in Hadrian's reign, himself acts as executioner. Thus the ancient law existed even under the Antonines; but already public sentiment was opposed to it, and legislation supports public sentiment. The populace avenged the first of these homicides by killing the perpetrator: this was only a riot; but in the second case the Emperor himself intervened and condemned the father to transportation. According to a fragment of Ulpian, the father, in the third century, possessed only the right to take his son before the public judge.<sup>2</sup> If he unjustly refused or neglected to find a wife for his son, a Julian law authorized the magistrate to compel him to do so;<sup>3</sup> and a rescript of Antoninus prevented him from breaking up the new family, taking away the paternal right of forcing the son to repudiate his wife.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, Trajan compelled any one who ill-treated his child to emancipate him.<sup>5</sup> Yet the right of correction still existed, and the child, always subject to the paternal power, never could institute an action for damages against his father.

If the father had the right of killing, much more had he the right of selling, his child. As regards the sons, the paternal power was exhausted only after three successive sales; as regards the daughters, one sale sufficed. However, the father who had once consented to the marriage of his son was considered as no longer having this power over him. This right under the Empire could be exercised only in case of absolute necessity, — as a means, for example, of avoiding the exposure of the child.

<sup>1</sup> Sen., *De Clem.* i. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xlviii. 9, 5. *Inauditum filium pater occidere non potest; sed accusare eum apud praesid. prov. debet* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 2).

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 19. Severus obliged the father to give a dowry (*Ibid.*); likewise for the daughter.

<sup>4</sup> Paulus, v. 6, sect. 15: *Bene concordans matrimonium separari a patre divus Pius prohibuit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Digest*, xxxvii. 12, 5.



But this necessity often occurred. The number of slaves was always considerable, and their recruitment arose not only at the expense of the Barbarians, by slave trade or by prisoners of war; the Empire supplied a large number of them. We read in authors and on monuments the names of numbers of freedmen of Greek and Asiatic origin, the greater part of whom must have been children of free condition who had been carried off by pirates and brigands, or sold by their parents on account of poverty.<sup>1</sup> This traffic was not at that time so odious as it seems to us. Thanks to the amelioration of manners, many slaves had an existence scarcely differing from that of our domestic servants. A great many of them regained their liberty and many added fortune to it as well; the freedmen filled up every career.<sup>2</sup> The sale of a child might therefore be for the family and for itself a fortunate act, which, not causing too great a violation of natural instincts, must have been frequent even in Italy. The great alimentary institution of the Antonines furnishes a proof of this, since its purpose was to prevent poor parents from selling their children.

As a means of gain, the child under the father's power was assimilated to the slave; he earned money for his father, and could keep nothing for himself. Only when he lived separately and practised a different trade, the father usually gave him a certain amount of property, which the son could use freely, without its being his own. Consequently he was unable, except with the father's permission, to sell it, and in no case could he dispose of it by will.

The son, however, obtained full legal ownership by means of the pay obtained for military service (*peculium castrense*), which he could dispose of by will even during his own lifetime, and the father's right was only exercised, at the son's death, in default of such dispositions. Later the same rules were applied to the

<sup>1</sup> The number of children exposed or sold must have been very considerable, since in modern civilization, with the great facilities furnished poor families for rearing their children and the severe penalties for infanticide, abandonment, or exposure, there were in Paris alone in 1879, 344 sentences under this head; and the public charity for relief of deserted children in the Department of the Seine had on its lists, in 1880, 26,186 individuals from one day to twenty-one years old.

<sup>2</sup> See Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage*, iii. 441.

salaries of public offices (*peculium quasi castrense*). Finally, by a grave modification of the father's absolute right over the son's property, the son could have his father's will cancelled "for neglect of paternal duty," which opened a claim of intestacy whereby the son regained his rights.<sup>1</sup>

As regards obligations, the son's debts were chargeable on himself; only the action was in fact suspended till he possessed property of his own. This rule admitted but one exception, — that for a money loan. Under Claudius, a law cancelled loans made to a son without the father's consent. The latter was not even able to make a deed of gift to his son; still, it became valid if at his death he did not revoke it.

The delinquencies of a son put him under personal obligation towards those whom he had injured. The latter had the choice either to bring an action against him when he had a *peculium*, or to bring against the father an *actio noxalis*, which forced him to deliver up the culprit. The *noxae deditio* was equivalent to a surrender of the son into temporary slavery; but when the injured party was indemnified by the labor of the *noxae dati*, the latter could demand from the praetor his liberation.

Roman families preserved as a sacred inheritance their name, their domestic sacrifices, and their traditions. Each generation transmitted this pious legacy to its successor; and in case there were no children, the law authorized the head of the family to take a son by adoption, — preferable, says the Emperor Hadrian, to a son born in marriage, since the one is chosen freely, and the other is received from chance.

This power arose naturally from the *patria potestas*, which was the basis of civil legislation. It would have been illogical to refuse to the father, the master of the fortune, the liberty, and even the life of his son, the right to grant to a stranger a place by the side of his children at the domestic hearth. But under the influence of religious ideas, which in the first ages had great strength, ancient society valued the purity of blood and did not approve the admixture of races; so the law had at first restrained

<sup>1</sup> By the *querela inofficiosi testamenti* (*Inst.* ii. 18, *prooem.* and *Digest*, v. 2, 2). The *Lex Falcidia*, of the year 40 B. C., authorized legacies to the extent of only three quarters of the estate, the other fourth being reserved for the natural heirs (*Inst.* ii. 22; Gaius, *Inst.* ii. sects. 225-227).



this right within the narrow limits which Cicero discloses to us.<sup>1</sup> Yet even the form of adoption which he opposes, that of Clodius, a patrician and senator, adopted by a plebeian young enough to have been his son, proves that the ancient limitations were even then no longer observed; and there remain very few of them in the new law. After the *Lex Canuleia*,<sup>2</sup> religious motives, *quae ratio generum ac dignitatis, quae sacrorum*, had by degrees given place to simple considerations of equity and propriety.<sup>3</sup> Ulpian recognized even that a citizen can adopt, by the solemn form of adrogation, several persons, when he has just motives for doing so,—a very wide expression, which leaves a liberty to the person adopting, examples of which we have seen in some of the Emperors.<sup>4</sup>

The adopted son inherited the name and the domestic sacrifices, and had, relatively to the patrimony, all the rights of an heir by birth. He was not, however, allied to the whole family, but only to the head of it and to those who pertained to him by the bond of agnation. For example, the daughter of the adoptive father becomes the sister of the new son, and cannot marry him.

There were two sorts of adoption,—that properly so called, and adrogation. The former was employed in the case of children still held under the paternal power (*alieni juris*); the latter in the case of citizens who were their own masters (*sui juris*). In the former case, the contract, after being privately made between the two fathers, the natural and adoptive, must be completed in the presence of the child, who might express a contrary desire. The father alone had the right to effect the transfer of his son, with the tacit or verbal consent of the latter, into the strange family; but the power of a guardian did not extend so far. Besides, the adoption was not irrevocable; the son whose father found himself in consequence deprived of an heir could return by a fresh adoption into his own family.

When two heads of families had agreed upon the conditions of an adoption, if they were living at Rome they went to the court of the urban praetor; if in the provinces, before the

<sup>1</sup> *Pro Domo*, 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I., p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in *Digest*, i. 7, 17; and Aul. Gellius, v. 19.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 491 *et seq.* Even the *spado* could adopt (Gaius, i. 103).

duumvirs or the governor. They sent for the *libripens*, a sort of public officer appointed to preside at the conclusion of every contract of sale. He came, bringing his balance and accompanied by several scribes. The future adoptive father made known his intention and the name which he wished to give to the one adopted. The natural father declared his consent to it and his cession of his rights over his son to the contracting party. By a legal fiction the child was bought by his new father, who struck the balance and gave a small coin as the price of what was sold to him. Immediately the son was purchased he was emancipated, and came by that same act under the paternal power. The sale was repeated three times, in order that the father might lose all his rights over him. Then took place the *in jure cessio*, a claiming of property, which was a legal fiction serving as a conclusion to many civil acts. In this particular case the property transmitted was the *patria potestas*. The act, drawn up by the scribes and entered on the public registers, was signed by five witnesses of adult age. On the completion of these formalities the child became a member of the new family.

The ceremony of adrogation consisted in asking the consent of the people, assembled in the comitia under the presidency of a member of the college of priests, who was required to inform himself as to the motives for the adoption.<sup>1</sup> Women, not having the right of being present at the comitia, could not be adopted in this way. As for the people, they were represented by some idle or curious persons who were present at this solemnity, the announcement of which had been posted up three *nundinae* previously; *i. e.*, during twenty-seven days at least.

The adopted man had sometimes children of his own; they and their goods passed with him into the power of the adoptive father, who became at the same time father and grandfather. It is ascertained that the person to be adopted is at least eighteen years younger than the adopter, in order that the fiction of paternity may be possible, and the contracting parties solemnly affirm that they desire, the one to assume the rights of a father, the other to accept the duties of a son. Then the priest asks.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Pro Domo*, 13, 14; Aul. Gellius, v. 19.



"Romans, do you consent to the ratification of the contract?" The people respond by the mouth of their thirty lictors, and the adoption is complete. Once more the perpetuity of a family is secured, and Penates which will not fail of their accustomed sacrifices. Augustus adopted the two sons of Agrippa *per assem et libram*,<sup>1</sup> and Tiberius by a *lex curiata*.<sup>2</sup>

This proceeding in the comitia, in ancient times necessary to establish a new family, was under the Empire replaced by an imperial rescript, so that adrogation, previously impracticable for women, as we have said, became possible when once a letter of the Emperor was sufficient. They were not competent themselves either to adopt or to adrogate, because they did not possess the paternal power; but by a special indulgence the Emperors allowed them to adopt a child, "to console them for those they had lost."<sup>3</sup>

The adrogation causing a citizen in full possession of his rights (*sui juris*), together with his property and all persons subjected to his *potestas*, to pass into another's power, he became *alieni juris*. This change of status constituted the *minima capitis deminutio*, for it entailed the loss of the rights of agnation and of inheritance from an intestate father; it put an end to the right of patronage, of usufruct, and extinguished debts. Why? Doubtless because the Roman jurisconsults, with the implacable rigor of their logic, regarded the change of family as a sort of new birth, creating a new person, a new existence. Yet in the long run, on equity asserting its influence in this as in other questions, he who had submitted to this diminution of status recovered some of the rights which the early legislation denied him, and his creditor some securities upon which he could have a lien.<sup>4</sup>

The paternal power which arose from a legal marriage and from the two modes of adoption above indicated was acquired

<sup>1</sup> . . . *Emptos a patre* (Suet., *Octav.* 64).

<sup>2</sup> But Galba and Nerva had already dispensed with some of these formalities, and Severus will abolish them altogether.

<sup>3</sup> *In solatium amissorum* (*Cod.* viii. 48, 5).

<sup>4</sup> At first the fortune of the adopted son passed entirely to the adoptive father; but to avoid despoiling the former and his agnati for the benefit of the original family of the latter, Antoninus decided that the adopted child who was disinherited or emancipated without reason should have a right to a quarter of the property of the adoptive father. This was the *Antonine Fourth*.

also over illegitimate children by legitimization of concubinage.<sup>1</sup> It might exist throughout the father's life, but was lost in case the son passed into the power of a third party, in case he were emancipated, or in case the father or son ceased to be a citizen; for the *patria potestas*, arising from a law peculiar to the Romans, *jus civile*, could not follow them under a foreign law, *jus gentium*, even when it existed in the national legislation of certain peoples, as in Gaul and among the Galatians.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, in his public rights and as a citizen, the son was perfectly independent of the father; he voted, served in the army, held office, even a guardianship, in full liberty, and except by testamentary disinheritance he had a right to the patrimony.<sup>3</sup>

We see that in the Roman family there was made allowance both for conservatism and for progress. By the civil authority of the father, it became a conservative force; but the political liberty of the son kept it from becoming blindly obstructive.

## II. — HUSBAND, WIFE, AND KINDRED.

THE condition of the son explains that of the mother. "I bewail my poverty," sadly exclaims the miser in Plautus; "you see me with a grown girl on my hands, without dowry, whom I cannot portion off to any one."<sup>4</sup> This lament was frequently to be heard at Rome; money determined many marriages there, as it does in societies where there is more talk of sentiment. Horace is displeased at this; he complains that "Queen Money,<sup>5</sup> when she gives a spouse with an ample dowry, seems to give at the same time beauty, nobility, friends, and conjugal fidelity." Saint Jerome employs his advantage as a religious teacher to depict more forcibly these mercenary marriages. He says, "We buy a horse, an ass, or an ox, only after a careful examination of their merits and defects; but a woman is taken with closed eyes. Is she violent, foolish, ungracious, offensive, what does all that

<sup>1</sup> So for soldiers' children who had obtained the *honesta missio*.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *De bello civ.* vi. 19; Gaius, *Inst.* i. sect. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Gaius, *ibid.* ii. 123.

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Dote cassam atque inlocabilem* (*Aulul.* 189).

<sup>5</sup> *Regina Pecunia* (*Epist.* I. vi. 37).



matter? This will be known after marriage.”<sup>1</sup> On the other hand — and this still belongs to our history — a girl without fortune may continue a long time in the paternal home, unless her beauty strikes some disinterested young man. That is rare, but not without example; accordingly, Venus is greatly honored by anxious mothers.<sup>2</sup> From afar they perceive her temple; they address supplications to her that she would send their daughters seductive charms, and they exert themselves in a thousand ways to make the girl beautiful. “Look at the mothers!” says Chaerea; “they are fully occupied in lowering their daughters’ shoulders, in drawing in the waist to make them look slender. Is there one of them who is inclined to be stout, the mother immediately exclaims: She is an athlete! and diminishes the girl’s meals until, in spite of constitutional tendencies, she has rendered her daughter as thin as a spindle.”<sup>3</sup> But all are not such as this, the type of mothers as depicted in comedies. Some there are, and they form the majority, who teach their daughters to spin wool and weave garments. The young girl of good family studies, in school or under private masters, the two literatures, Greek and Latin, with special attention to reading the poets. She is also taught music, singing, dancing; and these accomplishments, says Statius, help to find a husband.<sup>4</sup>

At last a fitting man presents himself, who is neither a relative of prohibited degree nor a foreigner, — two peremptory obstacles, although the former did not prevent the union of Claudius with his niece Agrippina,<sup>5</sup> and the *senatus-consultum* passed for this Emperor gained even the force of law.

However, if the foreigner has been able in any way to obtain the rights of a Roman citizen, his case falls under the common rule, — *Iustae sunt nuptiae quas cives Romani contrahunt*.<sup>6</sup> “I give up to you my dear daughter,” says the father; “and may it be happy for

<sup>1</sup> *Quodcumque vitii est* (*Ad Jovinianum*, iii. 429, edit. Hasse).

<sup>2</sup> *Anxia mater* (Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 283).

<sup>3</sup> Terence, *Eun.* 313.

<sup>4</sup> *Silvae*, iii. 3, 63. Cf. Ovid, *Ars amat.* iii. 315, and Pliny, *Epist.* V. xvi. On religious festivals there were often choirs of boys and girls. See Suet., *Octav.* 100; Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 23; Pliny, *Epist.* IV. xix.

<sup>5</sup> The eases prohibitory of marriage were numerous; they arose from kinship or condition. Thus, a senator was unable to marry a freedwoman; a guardian his ward; a Roman a Barbarian; a governor a woman of his province.

<sup>6</sup> The capacity to contract a legitimate union was called *connubium*, and the *jus connubii* belonged to Roman citizens only, but could be conceded to foreigners by legislative power.

me, for you, and for her." These words do not as yet make an irrevocable promise; the engagement becomes legal only after the ceremony of betrothal.

The time regarded as most favorable for this ceremony is the first or second hour of the day; *i. e.*, six or seven o'clock A. M. The family and friends have assembled at early dawn in the paternal home, and in their presence the future bridegroom renews his request to the father, who consents to it. Given in the presence of many witnesses, this consent has legal force, and the young man who afterwards desires to withdraw can be prosecuted by the parents of the girl.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless a contract is most frequently drawn up, which is signed by those present. Henceforth the union is made certain, and the titles of son-in-law and father-in-law are already employed. In fact, all the parties interested have given their consent: the girl has been asked if she places any impediment to the fulfilment of the contract, and her silence is regarded as consent.<sup>2</sup> The two are now betrothed. As a pledge of love and fidelity, the young man gives the girl an iron ring without ornament or jewels, — a symbol of the austerity of the conjugal bond. The affianced places it on the third finger of the left hand, which is considered to have direct connection with the heart.<sup>3</sup>

The preliminary contract being signed and provisional agreements made, the marriage day is fixed. The interval between the betrothal and the wedding is generally somewhat long; besides, all days are not propitious. Thus the month of May is fatal, on account of the *Lemuralia*. "There are days," says Ovid,<sup>4</sup> "when neither widow nor virgin may light the torch of Hymen; she who is married at this time will shortly die." And the common people had the saying: "No good woman marries in the month of May." The month of June, on the contrary, is favorable, but only after the ides; that is to say, the first twelve days are unlucky. This Ovid tells us; and he understands from no less a person than the wife of the flamen *dialis* that it is necessary to wait until the

<sup>1</sup> The action for damages permitted to the father disappeared early; but the man was regarded as infamous who, notwithstanding an existing promise, contracted a fresh engagement.

<sup>2</sup> *Digest*, xxi. 1, 11, and 12; Ulpian (*ibid.*, 12, sect. 1) makes a restriction which Paulus under title 2, fr. 2, does not uphold. Cf. *Cod.* v. 4, 12, and *Accarias*, i. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxiii. 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 25; and *Digest*, xxxiv. 1, 36, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Fasti*, v. 487 *et seq.*



Tiber has carried to the sea all the filth from the temple of Vesta. Now it appears that the Tiber cannot accomplish this until the 13th of June. The kalends of July are also forbidden days, and the day next following the kalends, the nones, and the ides in each month, and the entire month of February.

Before the marriage, sacrifices are offered to Juno, Venus, and the Graces. The father makes presents to his daughter, and his friends aid him in doing things handsomely; thus Pliny sends fifty thousand sesterces to Quintilian. But the bridegroom's liberality is fettered by a law arising from custom, which will not suffer conjugal affection to be impaired by motives of interest; the bride must love her husband for himself alone. On the eve of the marriage the final contract is drawn up;<sup>1</sup> the dowry, the times of payment are stated in it. Generally, in a good family, the daughter receives a million sesterces,—a dowry which a petty French stockbroker would scarcely accept. It is the amount that Augustus gives to Hortalus to enable him to take a wife, and that Messalina gives to Silius that he may marry her. It is true the Empress brought with her an expectancy of empire or death.<sup>2</sup>

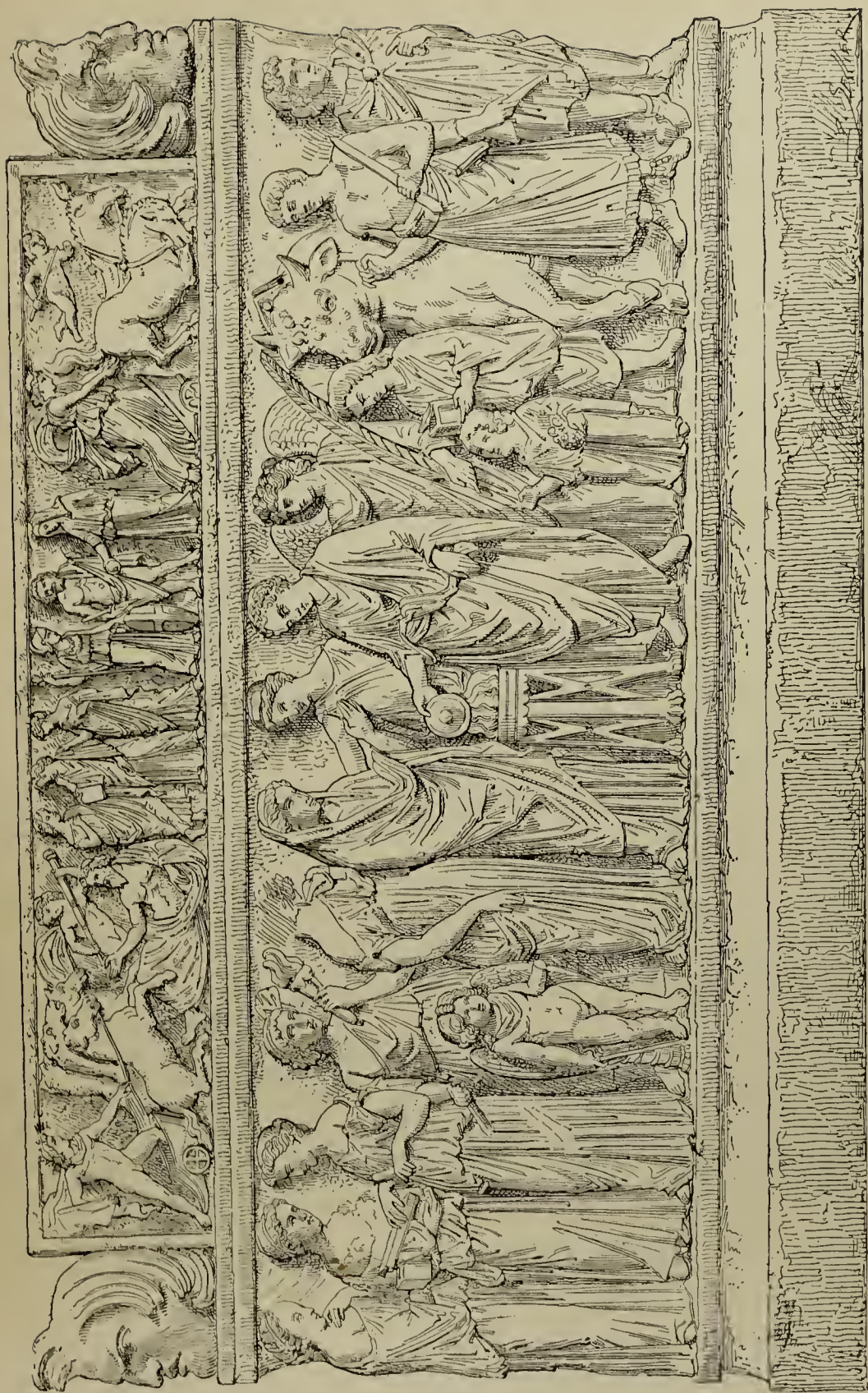
In early times the young girl went on the night before her marriage, accompanied by some aged female relative, to take the auspices in a neighboring temple, for the sake of propitiating the gods Pilumnus and Picumnus. Later, the diviners, interested in keeping up this usage, profitable to themselves, were accustomed to come in the morning and bring the auspices to the house.

When the contract of marriage, or *instrumentum dotalium*, has been accepted, and the consent of the bridegroom and bride and of their respective kindred given, the marriage is legally completed; no civil or religious authority is further invoked, except in patrician marriages, which the pontifex maximus and the flamen dialis consecrate by a sacrifice. The pomps and ceremonies which accompany are not, however, legally necessary.

According to the law, the wife acknowledges a master in her husband; she is in his power, becoming so in three ways,—by *usus*, *coemptio*, and *confarreatio*.

<sup>1</sup> There was no occasion, as is the case now, for the contract to precede the marriage; it might be subsequent.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* xi. 37; Sen., *Cons. ad Helv.* 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 335: *Ritu decies centena*.



SARCOPHAGUS REPRESENTING WEDDING CEREMONIES (ATLAS DU BULL. ARCH., IV. PL. 9).





The *usus* is by analogy with usucaption of property, in which *usus* for one year gave ownership. When a woman has lived for a whole year as a man's wife, she falls under the power of that man *in manu*; her father even cannot compel her to leave the house, which has now become that of a married couple: this is prescription. Nevertheless the prescriptive bond is broken if in the year the woman has passed three nights away from the common domicile. At the time 'when divorce was prohibited to the woman, while the right of repudiation was recognized in the man, the woman who by the *trinoctium usurpatio* avoided falling under the power of the husband, gave herself as a matter of fact the liberty which the law assigned exclusively to the man, for she was able then to have herself claimed by her father or guardian. But *usus* disappeared early, and was nothing more than a tradition in the time of Gaius;<sup>1</sup> that is to say, in the second century of our era.

All marriages were at that time contracted by *coemptio*, an imaginary sale of themselves which the couple made to each other, this sale being accomplished with the usual ceremonies belonging to mancipation. The woman comes to the Forum into the presence of the praetor or duumvir. She brings three ases: the first she gives to the *libripens*; the second she places in a model of a house; the third is placed in her shoe. With the first she buys her husband; with the second, the right of entry into her new abode; with the third, the Penates and participation in the religious worship of the family of which she is going to form a part.

The following dialogue took place: "Woman, do you wish to be mother of my family?" "I do." "Man, do you wish to be father of my family?" "I do." The forms being gone through, the ceremony is ended, and the effect of it can only be annulled by the *remancipatio*.

The marriage by *confarreatio* alone required religious ceremonies and put the wife in the power of the husband (*in manu*). It was solemnized in the presence of ten witnesses—doubtless representing the ten *curiae* of an ancient tribe—by the hands of the pontifex maximus or the flamen of Jupiter, with solemn forms

<sup>1</sup> Gaius, *Inst.* i. 111.



and words: this is "marriage according to the sacred laws."<sup>1</sup> A sacrifice was offered, in which was presented a cake made of a sort of wheat called *far*; and if this very long ceremony should be interrupted by a peal of thunder, it was compulsory to begin it over again, as was the case with the comitia of the people. Only if born *ex confarreatis nuptiis*, can a man become flamen of Jupiter, Mars, or Quirinus. The priests themselves must be married in this manner; so that the old patrician marriage existed as well as the old religion, but like it also, feebly. In the time of Tiberius scarcely could three patricians be found fulfilling the condition required in order to become flamen of Jupiter.<sup>2</sup> The union by the *confarreatio* could only be dissolved by the sacrifice of the *diffarreatio*.

The wedding day is a gala for Pilumnus and Picumnus, the latter the king of the genii, the genius *κατ' ἑξοχήν*, the Pluto of souls, as he is called, the guardian of pious marriages; Pilumnus, the protector of husbands. Prayers are offered to them, and couches made ready for them. The divinities hostile to marriages are also, through fear, loaded with honors; everything is done to propitiate them. Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus, each for a different reason hostile towards the god Hymen, see their altars smoke all day long. Wine and honey are offered them in vases purified the day before. The genius of the household shares in the festival. Even the sordid Euclion<sup>3</sup> at his daughter's marriage is willing to buy a little incense and some wreaths of flowers for the domestic genius. The house-door is adorned with white hangings, and within, the images of the ancestors are unveiled and torches are lighted.

In the ceremonies everything is symbolical. Thus the gall of the victim is thrown far away from the altar, to indicate that there ought to be only sweetness in the conjugal union. The costume of the bride is a complete allegory. This orange-red veil, this saffron-colored *flammeum*<sup>4</sup> which covers her head and

<sup>1</sup> When the Emperor was the pontifex maximus he was relieved of the charge of officiating at these marriages by the appointment of a priest, *sacerdos confarreationum et diffarreationum* (Willmans, 1,286).

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* iv. 16. Gaius, in Marcus Aurelius' reign, says still: *Quod jus etiam nostris temporibus in usa est* (i, 112). Cf. sect. 136, which shows that these marriages were very rare.

<sup>3</sup> Plautus, *Aulular.* 381.

<sup>4</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 129; Apuleius describes a wedding (*Met.* iv. 81). See also, in Catullus (lxi. and lxii.), the *Epithalamium* of Manlius and the *Carmen Nuptiale*.

allows only the face to be seen, is the usual ornament of the flamen's wife, to whom divorce is prohibited; the white tunic represents virginity; the head-dress raised in the form of a tower, almost like that of the vestals, with a javelin which runs through it, indicates that the wife is in submission to her husband; the chaplet of vervain is the symbol of fecundity; and the girdle of wool which is tied round her waist betokens her chastity.



A YOUNG MARRIED WOMAN COVERING HER FACE WITH THE FLAMMEUM.<sup>1</sup>

Thus adorned, the bride is placed on a seat covered by the skin of a sheep which was slain in sacrifice; the bridegroom is seated by her side on a similar seat; both have their heads veiled. After having offered milk and honeyed wine to the gods, the pontifex maximus gives the wedded pair the sacred cake (*far*) to eat, joins their hands, confiding the woman to her husband's good faith, who is to be her friend, guardian, and protector.

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre, after an antique of the Villa Albani.



The appearance of the star Venus in the sky is the signal for departure to their new abode. Before the bride leaves the home which sheltered her infancy, the father takes the auspices, then hands her over (*traditio*) to those who will be her new family; for he alone can break the bond which attaches his daughter to the ancestral hearth and the protection of the household gods. However, there is a pretence of snatching her from the paternal threshold, in commemoration of the rape of the Sabines. Children of



GENII CONDUCTING THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM, WHOSE HEADS ARE VEILED.<sup>1</sup>

patrician descent, whose parents are still living, escort her, two of them holding her by the hand, the third going before her and driving away the malevolent spirits with a torch of white pine. Two others follow her, carrying a distaff, a spindle, and in an osier basket all the instruments for feminine work. Four married women, bearing pine torches in their hands, form part of the procession.

When they reach the conjugal home, the bridegroom, standing at the threshold, asks her who she is; and she replies: "Where you are Caius, there am I Caia." They present to her the lustral

<sup>1</sup> Cameo from the Marlborough Collection, published by Winckelmann in his *Histoire de l'art*, and by Wieseler and Müller, *Alte Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. liv. No. 683.

water and a lighted torch; she sprinkles herself with some drops of this water, a sort of purifying, and she touches the torch, which is then quickly put in a safe place for fear that evil-disposed persons should use it for malevolent purposes. Before entering she rubs the jambs of the door with a little pork fat in order to keep off baleful spells.<sup>1</sup> Her companions lift her in their arms to prevent her touching with her foot the threshold sacred to Vesta, the virgin goddess, and the bridegroom throws nuts to the boys, by which he means that he gives up their games. The bride has already bidden adieu to her girlish years by devoting her dolls and playthings to the divinities who had protected her infancy.<sup>2</sup> Around the hearth are the ancestral images and those of the household gods. The newly married there offer a sacrifice and break the cake of flour (*far*), to eat it together. Henceforth the wife is associated in the domestic worship of her husband; according to the beautiful expression of the Roman juriconsult, she enters into participation with him in all things, divine and human. The gods and the deceased members of the husband's house become the gods and the venerated ancestors of the wife.

Seated then on a wool fleece, which is to remind her that she must be occupied with the distaff and spindle, the bride receives a key, the symbol of household sway, which is to be her lot, and the bridegroom hands her on a silver platter some gold pieces.<sup>3</sup> The whole family take part in the supper, which comes to an end by the distribution to the guests of *mustaceae* cakes mixed with sweet wine and baked with laurel-leaves, which they carry away as a souvenir of the wedding.

The following day is also observed as a festival. A banquet gathers the whole family again, after which the husband and wife are left to their domestic life. Was it likely



JOINTED  
DOLL.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the Wallachians of Aearnania, just as the bride is about to cross the threshold of her new home, she is presented with butter or honey, with which she besmears the door, indicating thus that her coming will bring kindness and joy to the house: *Uxor dicitur ab ungendis postibus* (Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie*, p. 278).

<sup>2</sup> *Veneri donatae a virgine pupae* (Pers., *Sat.* ii. 70).

<sup>3</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 204.

<sup>4</sup> After Becq de Fouquières, *Les Jeux des anciens*, p. 29.



to be a happy one? We may hope so; but to assert it would be venturesome for one who knows what Roman homes were like between the time of the Gracchi and the reign of Vespasian. On the day after the wedding the bride assumes the control of the house;<sup>1</sup> all, following the example of the husband, now call her *domina*, the mistress, and a sacrifice which she offers to the Lares consecrates this assumption of domestic authority. Henceforth she distributes the work to the slaves and looks after its execution, without herself doing any servile task, unless the family is so poor that they cannot afford a slave; later, she will superintend the education of the children. After her housekeeping cares are over, she takes her seat in the *atrium*, in the midst of the ancestral images, spins wool like the royal Lucretia, or receives there her relatives or her husband's friends. If she goes out, public morals protect the young girl of yesterday who is now a Roman matron. The inner side of the pavement is given up to her; even the consul stands aside to yield place to her. Too free an utterance or gesture in her presence is an offence which the law punishes; and these marks of respect are so ancient that it has been usual to trace their origin back to the time of Romulus.<sup>2</sup>

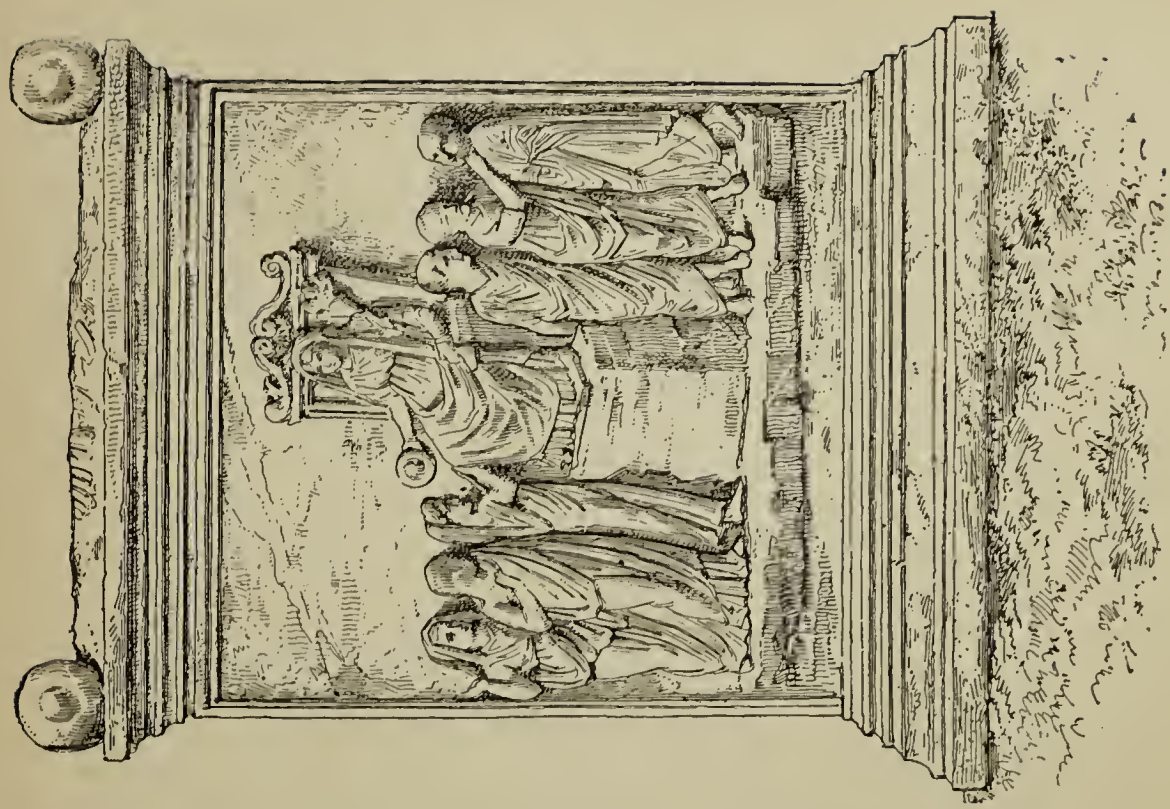
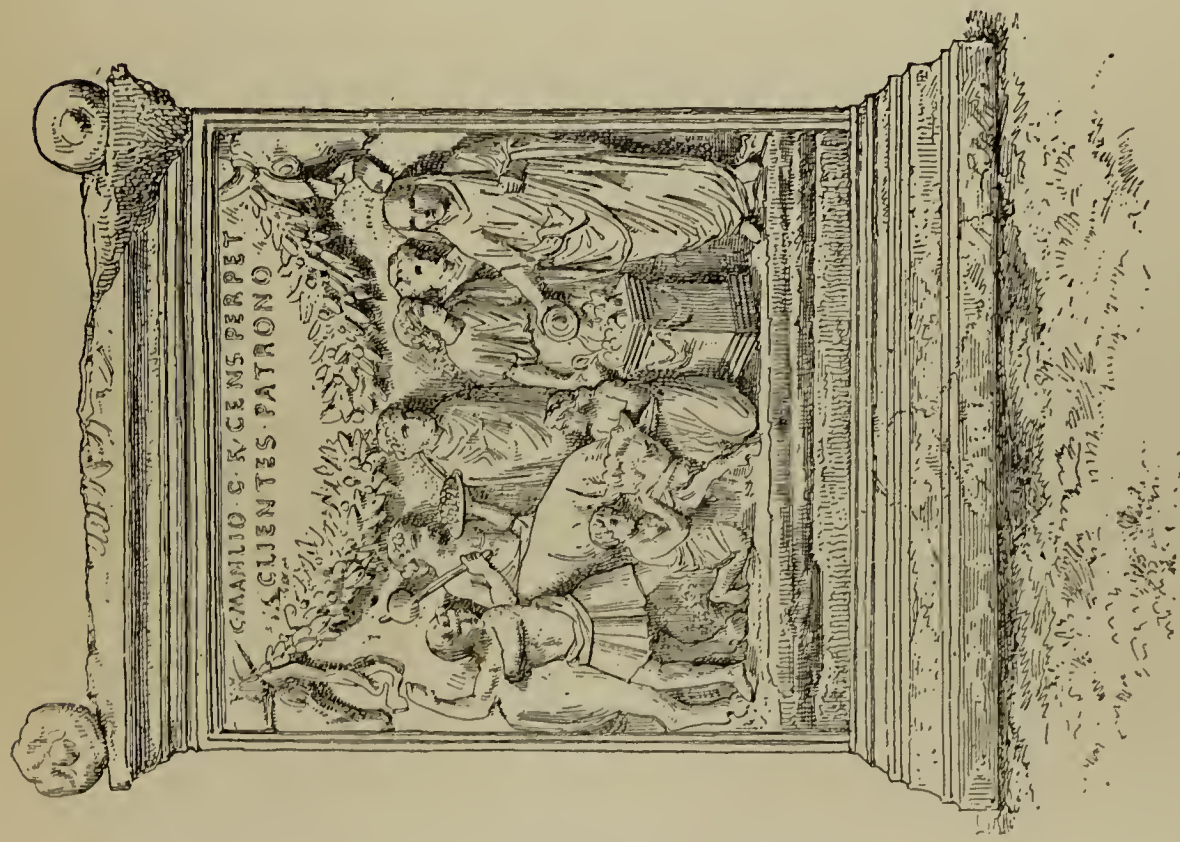
This woman so respected is yet held by the law in a strictly dependent condition. If she has contracted the kind of marriage which gives to the husband the *manus*, she is considered as her husband's daughter, as the sister of his children; and all the ties to her former family are severed in order that the discipline of the new family may be the better maintained. The husband has over her the most extended right of correction. In serious circumstances he must take the advice of relatives, unless it be a flagrant act of adultery, in which case he may take her life. If he does not possess the *manus*, he is contented with putting her away; it then falls to the lot of the father or relatives to punish her.<sup>3</sup> These family tribunals, which took cognizance even of murder committed by the wife upon her husband, were still in use under the Emperors.<sup>4</sup> We have seen that Antoninus placed conditions

<sup>1</sup> *In domo viri dominium* (Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 15; *Digest*, xxxii. 41; and Orelli, No. 2,663).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Rom.* 20; Tac., *Orat.* 28.

<sup>3</sup> The state sometimes committed to this tribunal the task of punishing crimes committed by the wife. Thus, in the case of the Bacchanals, cf. Vol. II. pp. 304 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 32.



SACRIFICE TO DOMESTIC FORTUNE (BAS-RELIEF OF THE LATERAN, GARUCCI, MON. DEL. MUS. LAT., PL. XVI.)





on the exercise by the husband of the right to punish his wife's adultery.<sup>1</sup>

To provide for housekeeping expenses the wife brought a dowry,<sup>2</sup>—an institution of the greatest importance, for with the dowry, with monogamy, and with the need of having the young girl's consent to the marriage, the Roman matron possessed that amount of liberty which a woman ought to enjoy, and could rise to the dignity which the titles of wife and mother imply. As to rights of succession, the wife was treated as a daughter of the family. If she survived her husband, she had her dowry and the same share that a child would have. If she died before him, and without leaving children, she left no property, because she was regarded as possessing nothing. In this case there was a reversion to the father, so that he might not lose both his money and his daughter. The wife *sui juris* could also make reservations, and a Julian law forbade the husband to alienate dotal property; situated in Italy, without the wife's consent.

The right of the husband to the dowry ceased on the dissolution of the marriage; and taking into consideration this eventuality, the wife could be called proprietor of her dowry. She kept besides the administration of her own property or paraphernalia not making part of the dowry. Thus the wife of Apuleius, who had married him when a widow and who possessed four million sesterces, transferred only three hundred thousand to the settlement. Then, as now, the non-distrainable character of this property was abused, and the husband who meditated a fraudulent bankruptcy made over to his wife the capital which ought to have indemnified his creditors.<sup>3</sup> If, however, the latter had herself broken the marriage bonds by a divorce sought without just cause, the husband kept a sixth of the dowry for each child to the amount of three sixths. If she had made the divorce necessary by her own criminality, she lost, according to the ancient law, her

<sup>1</sup> The wife judieially convicted of adultery was banished to an island, with the loss of half her dowry and the third of her property (Paulus, *Sent.* ii. 26). After Constantine she was punished with death.

<sup>2</sup> The jurisconsults of the fifth century invented the *donatio propter nuptias*. It was a sum brought by the husband which was united with the dowry, and in case of the dissolution of marriage secured to the wife and children (*Inst.* ii. 7, sect. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xlii. in title 8: *Quae in fraudem creditorum facta sunt*.



whole dowry; later a sixth or even only an eighth was taken from her.

A widow was prohibited from marrying again before an interval of ten months, under the penalty of infamy for her father and her new husband, and for herself when this public censure applied to women. In spite of the encouragements given to second marriages by the laws *Julia* and *Papia-Poppaea*, widows who did not re-marry were regarded with particular esteem.

A last trait of manners: the wife was expected to lament for her husband (*elugere virum*), and certain prohibitions were imposed upon her during her term of mourning; but the widower was not subjected to a corresponding obligation.<sup>1</sup>

Concubinage existed by the side of marriage as a union legally authorized, probably from the time of Augustus; but the children of these unions were not legitimate and were not the heirs of their parents. It usually existed between persons whom the law did not permit to contract a legal marriage; thus the concubine was usually a person of mean condition, often a freedwoman.<sup>2</sup>

The juriconsults had defined marriage as the complete and "indissoluble" union of a man and a woman.<sup>3</sup> Yet divorces, which were very rare in the earlier times, became frequent in the last days of the Roman state.

If we turn from the juriconsults to the poets, we find these customs in action, but described with the satirical spirit of writers who wish to show only the ludicrous side of things. Plautus puts on the stage a young wife who complains to her father of being despised and neglected in favor of courtesans; and the father is made to reply: "'Have I not exhorted you to be submissive to your husband, and not to be spying into his movements, into what he does and where he goes?' 'But he is the lover of a courtesan who lives near here.' 'He has a right to be; and I hope he will love her more, in order to punish you.''"<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere we have two matrons, one of whom makes her complaint, and the other consoles and exhorts her thus; "Listen to me! Do not

<sup>1</sup> *Uxores viri lugere non compellentur* (*Digest*, iii. 2, 9).

<sup>2</sup> The father of the younger Pliny had taken a slave for a concubine (*contubernalis*), whom he named in his will. Vespasian, when emperor, had a concubine, and so had Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Constantius Chlorus, and Constantine.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Plaut., *Menaechmi*, 789 et seq.

quarrel with your husband; let him love whom, and let him do what, he pleases, since you have everything you want at home; keep in remembrance the fearful sentence: ‘Begone, woman!’”<sup>1</sup> That is the terrible formula which obliges every poor woman to swallow her affronts and grief. She may bear a son, the source of consolation and hope; the husband perhaps will refuse to acknowledge the child and cause it to be exposed to perish. Whether she love her husband or not, she must go and meet him when he comes in, and should she have the strongest suspicions, she dares not question him. If she go out secretly, she will be put away; thus it was that Sempronius Sophus put away his wife, says Valerius Maximus,<sup>2</sup> because she was present at the games of the circus without previously informing him. While the wife lives in this constrained condition, the husband robs her of her cloak to adorn his mistress with it. Are you astonished? The poet replies: “He does like the rest.”<sup>3</sup> Like some of the rest, says the historian, who, as a faithful picture of society, does not take the stage, whereon are represented only the virtues, vices, and eccentricities of a few.

Let us look into another household. The parts are changed; here the wife is the superior. Haughty, imperious, she makes everything yield to her authority; extravagant and luxurious, she drives about in her chariot, fills her house with tradespeople and creditors. Let her husband pay and be silent. If he speaks: “What!” says she, “is it not I who have made you rich? Is it not right that I should have some whims?” Yet if she give the least pretext for suspecting her fidelity, the husband will put her away and keep a part of what she brought him. But she is careful in her conduct, and what can he do? Will he go and ask for a divorce under the pretext of incompatibility of temper? Alas! he would gladly do this; but the law is precise: if the divorce is sued for by the husband, the wife, although consenting, will withdraw her dowry and the children will remain at the father’s expense. He must therefore bear his misfortune with patience; and he does so, seeking his consolation elsewhere. Thus, on the one hand we see a wife tyrannized over, bearing all affronts patiently for fear of hearing the words: *I foras, mulier*; on the

<sup>1</sup> Plaut., *Casina*, 178–195.<sup>2</sup> VI. iii. 12.<sup>3</sup> Plaut., *Asin.* 943.



other a wife, cross-grained, scolding, extravagant, who torments her husband with impunity under the shelter of her fortune.<sup>1</sup> "The portionless wife is subject to her husband's will; wives with dowries are as executioners for their husbands."<sup>2</sup> Now as there are those who marry much more for the dowry than the wife, such men remain married to preserve the former, while they bestow curses on the latter. Hence one is unhappy in each household;<sup>3</sup> without taking into account that the rich woman had, to look after her property, a manager (*procurator speciosus*), sometimes a good-looking fellow, who meddled with all the domestic affairs, even those of the husband,<sup>4</sup> — the earliest type of the *cicisbeo*. The poet says what is true as regards Rome, and even for all times; but he does not show us the well-managed households by the side of the bad, so that his truth, like that of all satirists, is also a partial falsehood.

Incompatibility of temper was the reason constantly alleged for a divorce. Moreover, everything was done quietly. The married couple are tired of living united, so they separate; what more simple? Each takes back what had been contributed to the common fortune and goes to live elsewhere at will. It is said that in ancient times a small temple, dedicated to Viriplaca, the goddess conciliatrix of marriages, received married people whom a difference had separated. There they entered into explanations in the presence of the kind goddess, and very frequently became reconciled.<sup>5</sup> Viriplaca little by little was forgotten; her temple became deserted; while many appeared before the praetor to have the marriage bond dissolved, as joyous as they had been on the day of their betrothal. Sometimes, however, just at the moment when the magistrate was about pronouncing their separation, the husband, with returning affection, drops the marriage tablets which he was about to break and owns himself conquered; such is Ovid's young man, the new Alcibiades, who, seeing his wife enter the presence of the praetor, whither he had summoned her, runs to

<sup>1</sup> *Dote fretae, feroces* (Plaut., *Men.* 767).

<sup>2</sup> Plaut., *Aulul.* v. 526-7.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Carm.* III. xxiv. 19; Martial, *Epigr.* XII. lxxv. 6, xiii. 12; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 460.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. calumistratus*, says Seneca also (*De Matrim.*). Cf. Martial, *Epigr.* V. lxi.

<sup>5</sup> Val. Max., II. i. 6.

her, embraces her, and exclaims: "Thy beauty conquers me!"<sup>1</sup> So also Mæcenas, who daily repudiates Terentia and then takes her back, so that it is said of him that he had been married a thousand times, yet all the while had had but one wife.

A divorce must be accomplished before seven witnesses, all adult Roman citizens, in whose presence the tablets of the contract were broken. Repudiation is a less solemn act; the matter takes place quietly in the family. The husband assembles his friends, states to them his causes of complaint, which they consider valid, then announces his intention to the magistrate, affirming on oath that his motives are legitimate. He next calls in his wife, asks back from her the keys of the house, and says to her: "Farewell, take thy fortune; restore me mine." If she be absent, he serves her with the notice of repudiation. Sometimes it is the wife who repudiates her husband; the form is the same: "Take back your fortune; give me mine." "Why, Proculeia, do you abandon your husband in the month of January?" writes Martial against a miserly woman who will not give her husband a new cloak as a New Year's gift. "This is not in your case a divorce, it is a good stroke of business." But we know where Martial was pleased to live, and what sort of people he liked to see. Besides, this evil, like a good many others which the Empire was heir to, had begun under the Republic. Cicero already speaks of women "of numerous marriages;"<sup>2</sup> and the first Emperors combated this scandal by diminishing the facilities afforded to divorce. A law of Caesar authorized second marriages for divorced persons after six months from the date of their separation; Augustus made the required interval three times as long. But the laws of escheat, urging citizens into marriage for the sake of the profit to be drawn from fruitful unions, produced many hasty marriages, which were afterwards dissolved, whether from the wife's barrenness or because life in common, for which both parties were so ill prepared, became unsupportable.

In order to escape the additional penalties decreed by Augustus against celibates, a man took a wife for a little while and afterwards dismissed her, and thus for a year was sheltered from the law's severities. But although Juvenal considers a good wife

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Rem. amor.* 663 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Multarum nuptiarum* (*Ad Attic.* XIII. xlix.).



as rarer than a white crow,<sup>1</sup> and that according to Pliny celibacy leads to fortune and power,<sup>2</sup> the determined enemies of marriage have always been a very small minority. With those women who counted their husbands by the number of consulships we contrast the matron *univira*, always so honored because she had but once lighted the wedding torch.

In the East, the wife, shut up in the harem, is a plaything very soon despised. In Greece she rises to the dignity of wife and mother, but lives in the darkness of the gynaeconitis, which envelops and hides her.<sup>3</sup> At Rome she becomes truly the companion of her husband. Roman law gives this admirable definition of marriage: *consortium omnis vitae*,<sup>4</sup> a sharing of everything, — riches and poverty, renown and disgrace, pleasures and sorrows. The wife even shares in the official position of her husband; she is, like him, of consular rank, most illustrious, if he has obtained these titles, and she keeps them after the dissolution of her marriage; she is present at festivals, and celebrates the *sacra privata* at the domestic hearth. Her death, as her life, receives public homage. She has a solemn funeral; the procession crosses the Forum, and from the rostra whence Cato Major had endeavored to restrain “this unconquerable sex,”<sup>5</sup> one of the near relatives of the departed celebrates her birth, recounts her virtues, and often recalls the famous examples of the national heroines, — the devotion of the Sabine women, Lucretia’s chastity, the courage of Clelia, the patriotism of Veturia and of the matrons whose offerings filled the treasury emptied by the war with Hannibal.

The Emperors set an example of respect for those whom ancient rhetoric treated so badly in the works of the philosophers.<sup>6</sup> Caesar from the rostra pronounced a eulogy on his aunt Julia; the wife and sister of Augustus had been invested with tribunitian inviolability;<sup>7</sup> Agrippina “kept her seat before the standards;”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* vii. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Orbitatem in auctoritate summa et potentia esse* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. in prooem.).

<sup>3</sup> Cornelius Nepos (*in praef.*) portrays the difference between the condition of women at Athens and Rome: *Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cujus non materfamilias primum locum tenet aedum atque in celebritate versatur?*

<sup>4</sup> *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Vol. II. p. 395.

<sup>6</sup> . . . *Animal imprudens, ferum, cupiditatum impatiens* (Sen., *De Const.* 14).

<sup>7</sup> *Dion*, xlix. 38.

<sup>8</sup> *Tac.*, *Ann.* xii. 37.

and Julia Domna was saluted "Mother of the Legions." Soldiers erected a statue to the wife of their general; all the citizens of Lyons to the wife of their governor;<sup>1</sup> and a severe censor exclaimed publicly in the Senate: "They govern our houses, the tribunals, the armies."<sup>2</sup>

These last-quoted words proceed from a morose speaker, whose severity Tacitus moreover was doubtless pleased to exaggerate; it continues none the less true that a Roman marriage gave the matron that dignity which has caused her often to be held up as an example. The children, the family, the good order of the house were gainers by it, for this association "for things divine and human"<sup>3</sup> would not suffer any partition. Away from home, the husband will perhaps be loose in morals; but the matron rules supreme at the domestic hearth. Polygamy, permitted even at Athens, is incompatible with the idea of a Roman marriage.

Under the ancient law the woman *sui juris*, whatever her age or condition, whether daughter, mother, widow, or without family, remained in perpetual wardship. The spirit of liberty, breaking down the old institutions, raised her by slow degrees. In the third century B. C. the organization of the system of dowry formed her first step in emancipation. Becoming accountable for property to be employed for the expenditures of the family life, every husband could say, with one of the characters of Plautus: "I have sold my authority for the dowry which I have accepted."<sup>4</sup> Then she had been allowed the administration of her own property not included in the dowry (*paraphernalia*), and the guardian was obliged to accord all the authorizations for contracting, acquiring, or alienating which the ward demanded,—a circumstance which had already caused Cicero to remark: "Our ancient laws intended to put the woman under the authority of a guardian; the jurisconsults have put the guardian under the authority of the woman."<sup>5</sup> By the laws of Augustus relating to escheat, the mothers

<sup>1</sup> L. Renier, *Mél. d'épigr.* p. 7. Athens erected a statue to the wife of Herodes Atticus (*C. I. G.* 993).

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* iii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Divini humanique juris communicatio* (*Digest*, xxiii. 2).

<sup>4</sup> *Argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi* (*Asin.* 74).

<sup>5</sup> *Pro Mur.* 12. When Claudius had suppressed the guardianship of agnates, which was a strict right exercised by contingent heirs, and the woman could receive from the magistrate a guardian (*datus tutor*), or could choose one herself (*optivus t.*), the guardianship was nothing more than an onerous burden.



of three children were set free from all guardianship;<sup>1</sup> Claudius suppressed that of agnates. The guardianship of the father and of the patron still existed; but it is probable that in the

third century the guardianship of women *sui juris*, who had reached mature age, that is to say twenty-five years, had completely ceased.

As a matter of fact, the Roman family, in spite of the severity of the laws which constituted it, was freer than ours, even while preserving its strict organization. There was liberty for property, for the father had the absolute right of making a will, and the wife had full control over her dower and her paraphernalia; also liberty for persons, for the married couple were not tied for life to one another after deadly injuries or insurmountable dislikes. The half liberty which they acquire with us, at the cost



A MOTHER AND HER CHILDREN.<sup>2</sup>

of a public scandal, stretches the chain, but does not break it, and mutilates, sometimes perverts, two lives. Divorce and repudiation without public scandal, as they took place at Rome, left to the separated couple the power of establishing new families; and if the union had been fruitful, the right of making a will permitted giving the children a share of the property proportionate to the affection the parents felt for them and to the father's certainty respecting his paternity.

<sup>1</sup> Gaius, i. 150-154.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre.

This liberty of the married was even too considerable, and this facility of changing family had sometimes deplorable consequences. If divorce, rendered difficult, had been only a last resource in irremediable circumstances, the married would have often replaced passion by patience, restrained imprudent words, stopped short of culpable acts, to the great advantage of themselves and their children. Marriage is in itself a salutary discipline; but a limited and well-regulated practice of divorce fortifies this institution, instead of destroying it, and is a social necessity because it is a necessity of nature. Thus Justinian, a Christian Emperor, a theologian even, inserted in his *Code* a whole section on divorce. It is only much later, and for reasons foreign to social order, that the Church repudiated the principles of Roman jurisprudence.

As a marriage between a slave and free-born woman was impossible, the child born of these unions was free like the mother, and the stain of its paternity became so completely effaced that the highest offices were open to the son of a slave.<sup>1</sup>

One might even assert that a Roman matron held the advantage over the women of modern times. On election days she publicly recommended candidates,<sup>2</sup> and was permitted to aspire to certain political or sacerdotal honors. The decurions gave her the envied title of patron, with all the rights which attached to it, and the Flaminica Augustalis<sup>3</sup> offered sacrifices on the altars of the city, supplicating the gods in behalf of the whole people, as the vestals implored them for the Roman world. Christianity has not gone so far as that; it has never made woman a priest, but it has made her a sister of charity.

Civil relationship (*agnatio*) was formed by descent in the male line; natural relationship (*cognatio*), by descent from a common ancestor, whatever might be the sex of this person or of the intermediate persons. Now the agnates alone formed the true

<sup>1</sup> *Digest*, l. 2, 9: *Non interveniente connubio, (liberī) matris conditioni accedunt* (Ulpian, *Reg.* v. sect. 8).

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. from Pompeii* (Orelli, No. 3,700). Seneca acknowledges that it was to his aunt, the most modest and reserved of women, that he owed the quaestorship. . . . *Non mores obstiterunt quo minus pro me ambitiosa fieret* (*Cons. ad Helv.* 17).

<sup>3</sup> *Flaminica Aug.* A number of inscriptions bear this title. Cf. the *Index* of Or.-Henzen and of L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*.



family, even should they be twenty degrees removed from the common head; they alone had the rights of succession and guardianship, while the son held to the mother and to her nearest relatives no tie of civil law.

We have just said that in certain respects the matron possessed great liberty; in others she was under very strict rule. As a daughter, she was subject to the father; as a wife, to the husband; as a widow, she came under the guardianship of the agnates, her necessary heirs, and she could not of her own will alienate her property. This doctrine appears to us to be strangely rigorous; it is the result of the idea which the Romans had formed of the family. This guardianship was not intended to protect the woman against her own weakness (*fragilitas sexus*); its object was to secure to the guardian his contingent heritage,<sup>1</sup> and to the family the integrity of the patrimonial domain. With the same idea, the law refused her one of the essential rights of a citizen: a woman was unable to make a will, unless she had been enfranchised, or, after Hadrian's reign, had obtained the authorization of her guardians. Thus is explained how a matron could be at the same time very much under control, and yet very much honored; for this control was not an insulting precaution against her weakness, but a measure adopted in the superior interest of the perpetuity of the family.

Therefore, in order to preserve the race, even when it was continued only by adoption, to maintain in the same family its name and property, to keep up the manners, the traditions, and the rites of its ancestors, the Romans went so far as to disown the natural affections, by creating an artificial family from which they discarded the variable element. We therefore find in the institution of legal relationship at Rome this idea of a strong concentration of the rights of the father and of his male descent, which has in all ages formed powerful aristocracies. On this point, however, time created a reaction of the spirit of justice against the narrow spirit of the ancient *gentes*; the praetors were disposed to replace in the law of succession the civil family by

<sup>1</sup> Gaius, i. 115a. The testamentary guardian, — that is, the one given by the father to his daughter by his will, — being permitted to be a stranger and not an agnate, had no right over the daughter's inheritance, who then recovered the free disposition of her patrimony.

the natural. They succeeded at last in this, but very late; agnation was not definitively suppressed until the year 543 by Justinian.

### III. — FUNERALS AND WILLS.

WE have mingled customs and laws, family usages with the legal prescriptions which constituted the family; we have passed in review birth, the assumption of the virile toga, and marriage. The funeral rites and the laws of inheritance remain to be considered. At Rome the mummies of ancestors were not, as in Egypt, brought in at feasts: yet death was a good deal thought about. Great care was taken respecting funeral rites: the place of one's sepulture was indicated; often, too, a man built his last resting-place.<sup>1</sup> We shall see that the members of the most numerous corporations of the Empire might have styled themselves "the fellow-associates in death," since the purpose for which their colleges were founded was to assure to their members a tomb, and to the dead man "a perpetual service," when the deceased had been rich enough to interest his survivors in celebrating every year in his honor a sacrifice or a funeral repast. All this was done because the Romans believed that the souls of those whose remains had not received the last honors wandered miserably for a thousand years on the banks of the Styx;<sup>2</sup> consequently there was no kind of death more feared than to perish at sea. The temples of Isis, Aesculapius, and Neptune were full of *ex-votos* offered by the shipwrecked whom these divinities had saved. "But where, then, have the offerings been put of those whom they have allowed to perish?" asked an indiscreet person.

Even if a man had ceased to have before his mind the fear of the Styx, he wished at least that a friendly hand should close his eyes. The near relatives met round the dying person, as about a man setting out for a very long journey; and it was a matter of pride to him that a numerous family should be present at the last hour. Such inscriptions as the following were placed on the

<sup>1</sup> Orelli, Nos. 3,999 and 4,107.

<sup>2</sup> Hor., *Carm.* I. xxviii.



tombs: "I have had five sons and five daughters; they all closed my eyes."

When the nearest relative had placed his lips on those of the dying person to receive the last sigh<sup>1</sup> and had closed the eyelids, it was customary to call loudly three times upon the deceased; and as he did not answer, his death was then announced in the temple of Libitina. Near this temple whatever was necessary for a funeral was to be obtained: like Acheron, it profited by tears. Autumn especially, that treacherous season,<sup>2</sup> brought it a rich revenue. *Auctumnus . . . Libitinae quaestus acerbae*, says Horace. The *libitinari* undertook for a fixed charge the whole ceremony. If there was to be what we call a first-class funeral, the *pollinctores* came to the house, and after the women had washed the body in hot water, rubbed the face with *pollen*, a sort of flour, embalmed the body with spices, then attired it in the ordinary dress, putting on the various decorations which the deceased had gained, and laid it in state in the hall, the feet towards the door, to indicate the approaching departure. If the family are rich, the deceased has an ivory bed with rich hangings, and the house is hung with black. Before the door a cypress is set out, being a tree sacred to Pluto, for when once cut, it does not grow again; and at this sign priests and worshippers, on the way to some temple to offer sacrifice, keep at a distance from the house, where they would contract a ceremonial pollution, and thus became unfit to approach the altars.

The lying-in-state lasted seven days; on the eighth a public crier calls the people to the funeral ceremonies, and if the solemnity promises to be imposing, the unoccupied attend. The bier is borne by the nearest relatives and the friends, or by the slaves set free by the will; the last wearing a hat, as a mark of their recently gained freedom.

The procession goes forward with lighted torches, although the ceremony takes place in broad daylight; this is in memory of the ancient custom of having funerals in the night. The *designator* (our master of the ceremonies), followed by his lictors, arranges the

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *In Verr.* v. 45; Suet., *Oct.* 99.

<sup>2</sup> Treacherous at least at Rome. Cf. Horace, *Sat.* II. vi. 19; Ovid, *Met.* i. 117; *Aut. pestilentia* (Caesar, *De Bello civ.* iii. 87).

procession.<sup>1</sup> At the head marches a flute-player, who plays a mournful air; behind him the hired mourners, the undertaker's slaves, striking their breasts, uttering shrill cries, and seeming to tear their hair. Between the cries and gestures of despair they intersperse songs, and sometimes declaim verses from celebrated poets which have reference to the occasion. The inhabitants of the South, who love the ostentation of grief as well as the display of rejoicing, do not shrink from the strange idea of praising the dead for hire. The funeral song, however, deceives no one: "Thou recitest a *nenia*," was a saying of the Romans, meaning that the words were labor thrown away. We think the same about funeral orations in our own time, but we no longer say it.

PLUTO.<sup>2</sup>

In the procession are carried the spoils which the deceased had taken from the enemy, the insignia of the offices held by him, the gifts which he had deserved for his courage; but all these marks of honor were reversed, in sign of mourning. Yet still it was a triumph; and as in the real triumph satirical voices reminded him who was ascending to the Capitol of his human weaknesses,

<sup>1</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I. vii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Marble statue found at Pozzuoli, in the ruins of the temple of Serapis, and now at Naples (*Mus. Borb.* vol. i. pl. 68).



so behind the mourners, exalting to heaven the virtues of the deceased, the archimime, dressed to resemble him, played the dead man's part, imitating his style of speaking and his manners, and exaggerating all his peculiarities.<sup>1</sup> What we discreetly whisper of the virtues and foibles of our departed friend, the Romans said aloud and represented in action: there is laughter by the side of



MOLOSSIAN DOG.<sup>2</sup>

tears, that the funeral scene may be a complete representation of life. These grand processions were a display of aristocratic ostentation and also of national pride, for the ancestors seem to have left their tombs to form an escort to him about to descend thither. Their images of colored wax, dressed in the robes which they had worn in their magistracies, were carried after the bier; and the populace was confirmed in their respect for the noble families of the Empire or of the city when they saw in every funeral procession their illustrious representatives borne before their eyes. "Private mourning,"

says Polybius, who had been deeply touched by the imposing scene of these grand funerals, "became also a public mourning."

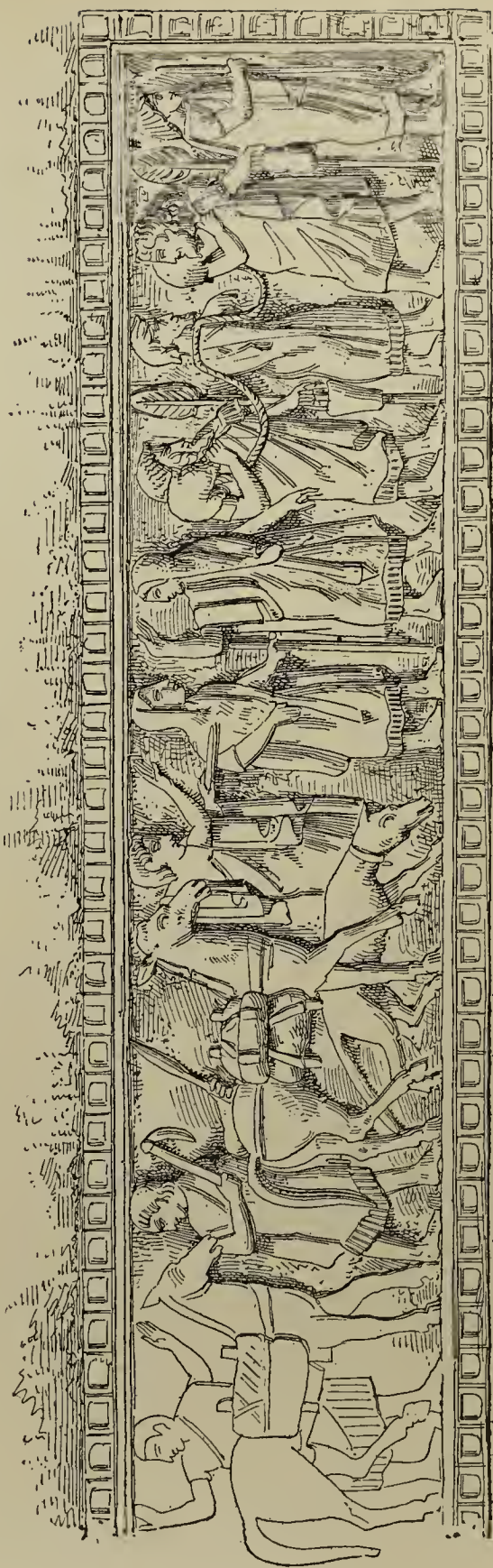
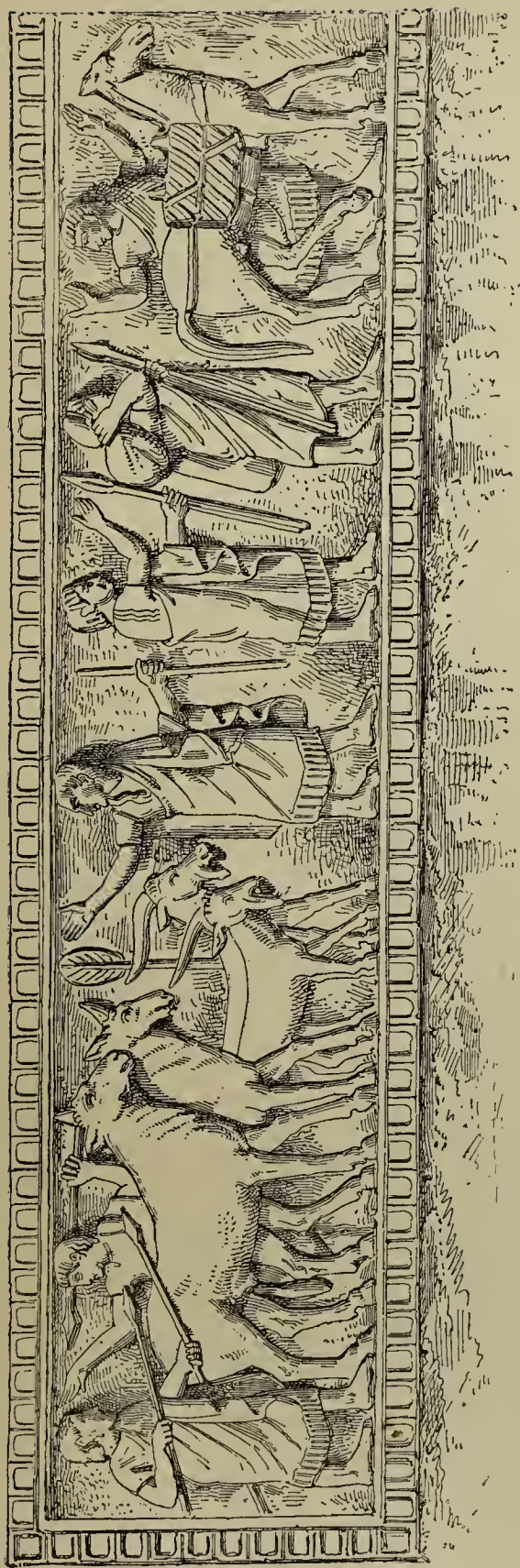
Behind the dead family came the living one: the sons with covered heads, the daughters bareheaded and with dishevelled hair; the wife, the mother, dressed in gray; the relatives, the friends, in dark-colored dresses; the knights without their gold rings and collars. The women smote their breasts, scratched their faces, and tore their hair. "Thou wilt follow me," says Propertius to Cynthia,<sup>3</sup> "thou wilt follow me with neck naked and bruised, and thou wilt not omit calling my name with a loud voice." These wounds, it was believed, pleased the Manes, "who are fond of milk and blood."

<sup>1</sup> Not even the Emperors were exempted from this parody. See in Suet., *Vesp.* 19, the funeral of Vespasian: . . . *Archimimus personam ejus ferens, imitansque, ut mos est, acta aut dicta vivi.*

<sup>2</sup> Cavaceppi, *Racc. d'antich. stat.* pl. vi., Roma, 1767.

<sup>3</sup> *Eleg.* II. xiii. 27-28.





SARCOPHAGUS REPRESENTING A FUNERAL PROCESSION (ATLAS DU BULL. DE L'INST. ARCH., VOL. IV. PL. 32, FOR 1846).





The processions of the great stopped in the Forum, where some near relative pronounced the funeral oration; thence they went on to the funeral-pile, a sort of altar of resinous wood decked with cypress branches and always placed outside the city.<sup>1</sup> The body, enveloped in a linen shroud and sprinkled with perfumes, was placed upon it to the lugubrious notes of trumpets. The nearest relatives set fire to it with torches; they averted their heads as they did so,—*Aversi tenere facem*, says Vergil. But before the fire was lighted, the eyes of the corpse had been opened, that he might for the last time behold the light, and the splendor of his funeral, his ring had been restored to him, and his mother, wife, or son had imprinted a last kiss on his icy lips, —

*Osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis,*

writes the poet to his mistress.<sup>2</sup>

While the pile is burning, every one throws his presents into it; some incense, some perfumes, others giving their own hair. Prayers are addressed to the winds to quicken the devouring flame. “Why,” says the shade of Cynthia to her ungrateful lover, “why didst thou not ask the winds to blow on my funeral pyre? Did it cost thee then too much to scatter on it some hyacinths and libations of wine?”<sup>3</sup> There were also thrown into the flames the arms and costly clothing of the deceased, the objects and even the animals of which he had been fond. “This boy,” writes Pliny,<sup>4</sup> speaking of the death of a youth, “had several riding and driving horses, dogs of all kinds, nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds; his father sacrificed them all on the funeral pile.” Slaves sometimes threw themselves into the flames to accompany the deceased into the other world. While the body was burning, libations of milk, wine, and blood were offered. The blood which had the highest repute for appeasing the Manes of the dead was that of immolated victims, sometimes of prisoners and slaves, or better

<sup>1</sup> The prohibition of interment in the city is in the Twelve Tables, and is to be found in the *Lex Genetiva* (chap. lxiii.), which fixes a penalty of five thousand sesterces upon those who break it. This prohibition, which was general in the Roman Empire, was a sanitary measure, but still more a religious prohibition: *ne funestentur sacra civitatis* (Paulus, *Sent.* i. 21, 2). If violated, a religious expiation was required.

<sup>2</sup> Propertius, *Eleg.* II. xiii. 29.

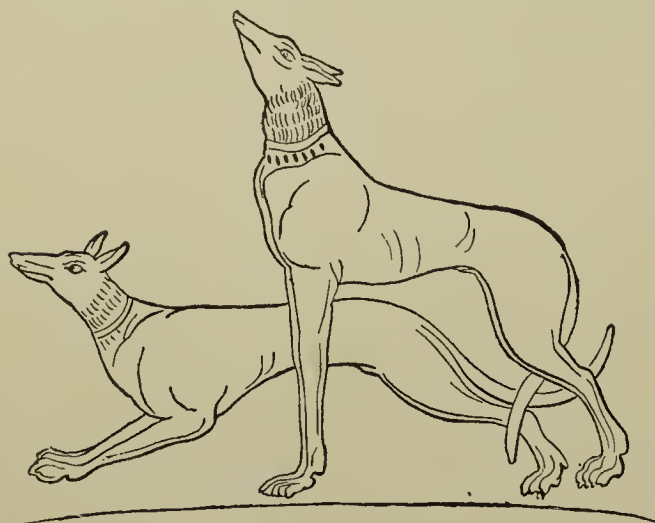
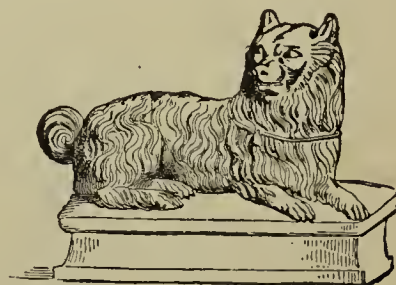
<sup>3</sup> Propertius, *Eleg.* II. iv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* iv. 2.



still that of gladiators, who butchered one another before the pile. Before becoming a spectacle, these combats had been a religious act, an *auto-da-fé*.

The ancients were too great lovers of beauty to represent death by the hideous skeleton which the Middle Ages so delighted to exhibit. On the sepulchral stone they often placed a beautiful statue, recalling the popular belief in that life beyond the grave, uncertain and vague like the thoughts in dreams. A genius asleep and dreaming was the symbol of death.

GREYHOUNDS.<sup>1</sup>MALTESE DOG.<sup>2</sup>

“The practice of burning corpses,” says Pliny, “is not very ancient in the city; it owes its origin to the wars which we have made in distant countries. As our dead were often disinterred, we adopted the practice of burning them.”<sup>3</sup>

The Romans, believing the soul to be of the nature of fire, thought that flame, by a sort of mysterious connection, would facilitate its exit from the body; accordingly, they granted the honor of cremation only to human beings which had some degree of reason or sensibility. “It is not the custom,” says Pliny, “to cremate infants who have not yet cut their teeth;”<sup>4</sup> and he adds:

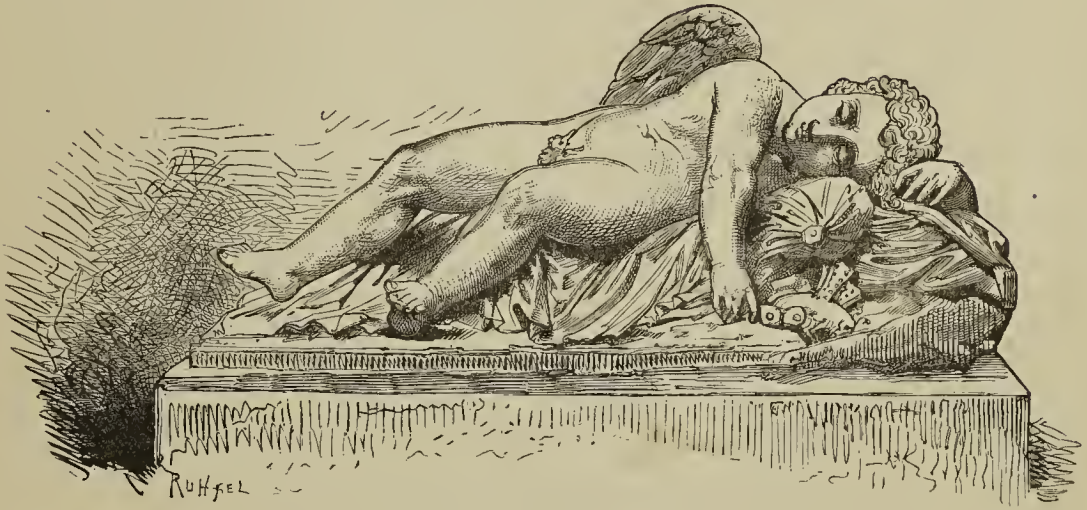
<sup>1</sup> Painting on a Greek vase.

<sup>2</sup> Terra-cotta in the Museum of the Louvre.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. nat.* vii. 55. From the time of Macrobius (fourth and fifth centuries), corpses were no longer cremated (*Saturn.* vii. 7), as being a practice contrary to the Christian belief in the resurrection of the body.

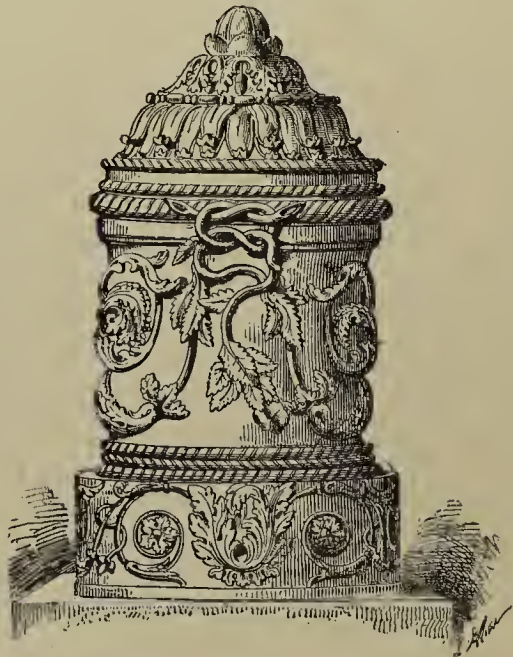
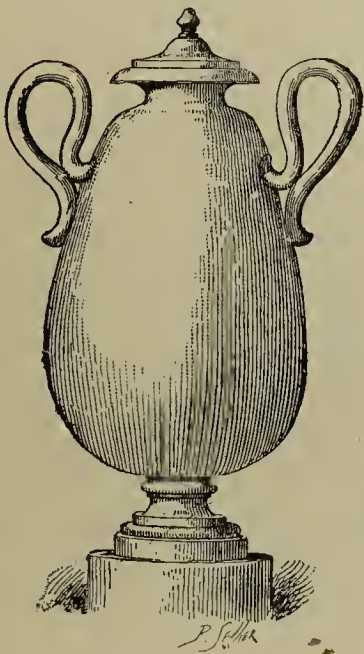
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 15.

“It is an impious act, which would stain a family. They are buried at night-time by the light of torches.”



FUNERAL GENIUS FOUND AT FLORENCE.<sup>1</sup>

When the corpse is consumed, the flames are extinguished with wine. The nearest relative collects the still heated bones, washes them “in old wine or milk, and dries the humid remains with a



CINERARY URNS.<sup>2</sup>

flax veil;”<sup>3</sup> he then deposits them in an urn with roses and aromatic plants. A priest sprinkled water three times over those

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Louvre.

<sup>2</sup> Museum of the Louvre.

<sup>3</sup> Tibullus, *Eleg.* iii. 2.



present to purify them, unless they crossed the ashes of the pile, which was another mode of purification, and all the procession then addressed a last farewell to the deceased: "Farewell forever! We shall all follow thee in our turn as Nature shall ordain."<sup>1</sup> Lastly, one of the hired mourners or some other person dismisses the crowd with this form of words: *I, licet*, "You may depart."

The urn was inclosed in a tomb, on which an inscription was engraved with the name of the departed, the date of his birth, his public services (*cursus honorum*), and sometimes a philosophic sentence intended for the passers-by: "Dumb for eternity, I shall tell neither my name, my father, nor my actions. I am a handful of ashes, nothing more, and I shall never be anything else; my lot awaits you."<sup>2</sup> Or this, "While I lived, I lived well. My performance is over; yours will end soon. Applaud."<sup>3</sup> Or, again, this: "In giving you life, the gods have prepared for you this abode." Or better, if the usual sense of the words of the inscription may be kept: "Eat, drink; but the only thing you will carry away with you is the good you shall have done."<sup>4</sup> Threats and maledictions against any who should violate the tomb were also inscribed upon it: "I Aurelius Severus, merchant, have caused this sepulchre to be made for myself, my consort, Aurelia Claudia, and my very dear children; if any one dare to place here any other corpse, he shall give to the sacred treasury a pound of gold."<sup>5</sup> Thus the imperial treasury was interested in the protection of the tomb. In another case it is the city of Philippi which is to receive the penalty, — a thousand denarii.<sup>6</sup> A poor freedman, wishing to protect his wife's sepulchre, says gently to the laborer in the adjoining field: "Be very careful, she is sleeping here."<sup>7</sup> All around were planted shrubs and flowers, in order that the soul of the deceased, at those times when it came forth from the

<sup>1</sup> Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 97, and Servius, *Ad Aen.* iii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Auson., *Ep.* 38.

<sup>3</sup> Orelli, who quotes this inscription at No. 4,813, doubts its authenticity.

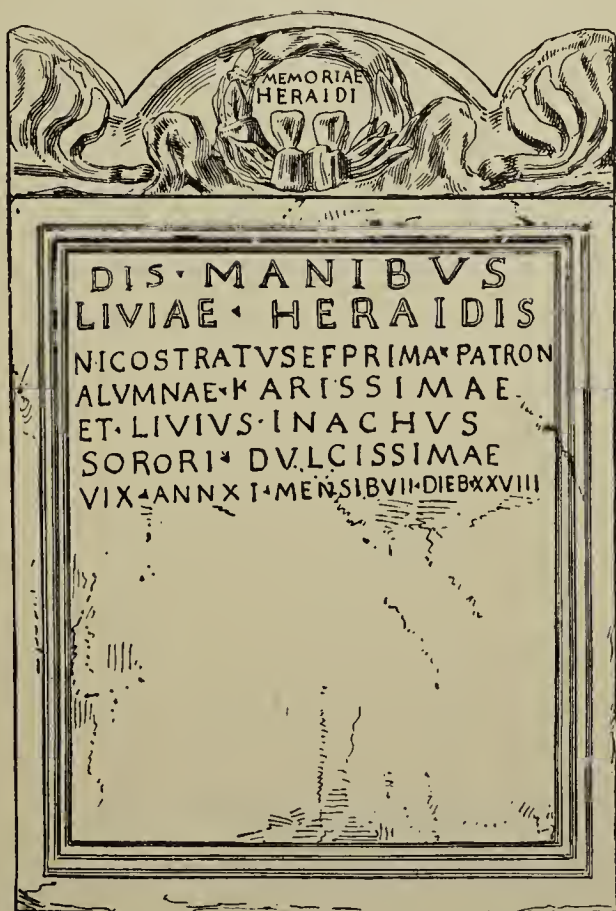
<sup>4</sup> Orelli, No. 6,042. Unfortunately, M. le Blant is very probably right to give the sense of *bene vivere* to the words *bene facere* (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1875, p. 114). Yet we shall see later that beneficence was also a heathen virtue, because it becomes, in a state of civilization, a natural virtue.

<sup>5</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macéd.* p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 38; Perrot, *Galatie*, etc. p. 7; Bourguignat, *Inscr. de Vence*, pp. 41 *et seq.* *Bulletin de Corresp. hellén.* viii. 514. There are hundreds of inscriptions of this sort.

<sup>7</sup> Orelli, No. 7,403.

sepulchre, might be gratified at seeing its last abode adorned by the affection of its kindred. At the season "of violets and roses" it was usual to cover the tomb with them, and the dead man thanked those who had placed them there. "Ah! my friends," says an inscription at Pompeii, "may the gods load you with blessings! You also, passers-by, who have stopped for a moment



MORTUARY INSCRIPTION ON A ROMAN STELA.<sup>1</sup>

before the tomb of Fabianus, may the gods protect you both going and returning! And you who bring me chaplets and flowers, may you be able to do so for many years to come!"<sup>2</sup>

On the day after the funeral the relatives and friends were invited to a repast called the funeral feast. When the deceased was wealthy, scenic games were given and a banquet to the people (*silicernium*); or, instead, raw meat (*visceratio*) was distributed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for 1864, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, viii. 22; xxxix. 46; xli. 28. In his learned paper on the *Monuments funéraires* of the Greeks, M. F. Ravaisson has expressed the opinion that in the belief of the ancients the



On the ninth day a feast brought again the whole family together; on the tenth, the house was purified, which the presence of the dead man had defiled, and it was swept with branches of vervain. During these ten days none of the relatives could be cited before a court of justice.<sup>1</sup>

The purification of the house ended the funeral ceremonies; but "the paternal Manes" had three festivals which brought together families again,—in May, the three nights of the *Lemuralia* to appease the Manes, whom forgetfulness would irritate; in February, the *Parentalia*, "the day of the dear kindred," which Ovid calls also the festival of the *Caristies*; <sup>2</sup> and in the summer, that of roses (*Rosalia*), which were then scattered around the tomb.<sup>3</sup> On this day all the relatives were gathered around the same table (*socias dapes*), that the festival might lead to forgetfulness of quarrels. "This is the time," says the poet, "when concord takes pleasure in descending among us."

As for the poor man, he dies as he has lived, without much circumstance, and his corpse expects but little. Four *necrophori* carry it at night-fall in a hired coffin and throw it, outside the city, into one of the pits (*puticuli*) which serve as a common grave and where it will quickly rot. It was on a disused common cemetery that Horace places Priapus, the trunk of a fig-tree which became a god. "There," says he, "was the burial-place of the wretched populace, of Pantolabus the buffoon, and Nomentanus the debauchee."<sup>4</sup> Those who have left any money for their funerals are at any rate cremated. A pyre is built up of materials which are very inflammable, and on it are placed the corpses, in

deceased in the lower regions had also funeral repasts. According to him, in the bas-relief here represented, Bacchus, who is often considered as the sovereign of the empire of the blest, comes to share the repast of two inhabitants of the eternal abodes. He is followed by his ordinary retinue, made up of Silenus, satyrs, and maenads; a young satyr unties his sandals, and the god is about taking his place at the table of the married couple.

<sup>1</sup> *Novellae* of Justinian, 115, sect. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, No. 2,417: . . . *dies carae cognationis*, and Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 617 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> These customs still exist in Thessaly and Macedonia. Cf. Heuzey, *Mission*, p. 156; A. Dumont, *Le Balkan*, p. 34. The belief in a sort of materialistic life in the grave is so rooted in the Greeks of Europe and Asia that it has penetrated among the Osmanlis of Asia Minor, who take care to leave a hole in the grave, so that the deceased may breathe and continue in communication with the world of the living (Collignon, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1880). Lately in Dauphiny, they used to drink, on the day of the funeral, "to the health of the poor departed one."

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.* I. viii. 11.





ELYSIAN REPAST, BAS-RELIEF ALSO CALLED BACCHUS AT THE HOUSE OF ICARIUS (MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE).





the proportion of one female corpse to ten male. "It was," says Macrobius, "a common custom, as if, on account of the former being hotter by nature and easily consumed, combustion must be accelerated."<sup>1</sup>

We may be sure that at such wretched funerals there was neither repast for the relatives nor holiday for the people. No one tore his breast at the poor man's funeral, but neither did any one make it an occasion for rejoicing.

The rich man has of course left a will, and when he felt death approaching, he put his ring on the finger of his heir.<sup>2</sup> *Uti pater familias legassit, ita jus esto*, said the law of the Twelve Tables. Every citizen was free to leave his property to any other citizen, and his wish was absolutely respected if it had been expressed under the form of a testament. Ancient law recognized two sorts of wills, — the one was made, like adrogation, before the *comitia curiata*, assembled for that purpose twice a year under the presidency of a priest; the other was made *in procinctu*, at the moment when the army was drawn up in order of battle and when the auspices were taken. This was the military testament.

Usage caused a more simple form to prevail, — the testament by mancipation. The testator sold in some manner his property to the one whom he made his heir (*familiae emptor*). Once more appears the *libripens* with his balance to weigh what is paid for the purchase and the five witnesses, all of full age, who represent the five existing classes of the Roman people. The testator pronounces certain formulas and performs a sort of juridical pantomime, with the co-operation of two citizens, in the presence of the witnesses, who then hear the reading of the testament, sign the deed, and put their seal on the linen thread which must fasten it.<sup>3</sup>

Under the Empire matters were made even more simple. The praetor required for the transfer only the presentation of the testament with the seven seals attached, as if, by their signatures, the witnesses attested that the ancient formalities had been complied with. It was the duty of this magistrate to put the legal

<sup>1</sup> *Saturn.* vii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.* 73; *Cal.* 12; Val. Maxim. VII. viii. 5, 6; VIII. v.

<sup>3</sup> *Digest*, xxx. 3, 4-7.



heirs in possession of their inheritance, and he employed this opportunity to revive those rights of blood which the Law of the Twelve Tables had despised. That law had concerned itself only with what might profit the state. The public welfare demanded in the early ages of Rome the maintenance of the families originally established; the interests of religion required the continuance of the hereditary sacrifice (*sacra gentilitas*). Accordingly, in case of death *ab intestato* the Twelve Tables gave the property, not to the daughter of the deceased, who, by marriage, would carry it into another family and would abandon the household gods, but to the nearest male relative, or, failing that, to the entire gens. Praetorian equity recognized the rights of blood (*jus sanguinis*), and restored emancipated sons and their children, in the matter of succession, into the natural family; a mother was allowed to inherit from her son, and a son from his mother. If the heirs called *ab intestato* by the law made opposition under pretext of irregularity, the praetor gave possession in lieu of legal inheritance. Earlier than this, a means of breaking his father's will had been granted to a disinherited son, giving him a right to plead that the will was *inofficiosum*; that is to say, that the testator was not of sound mind. In these ways all testamentary legislation had been changed, while yet the early law seemed to be still held in honor.

The written deed could even be replaced by a verbal declaration of last will and testament, which in the Later Empire must be made before the magistrate or curia and entered on the city registers. This is the origin of an authentic testament. The military testament was also rendered more simple. The soldier dying on the battlefield might write, even with his own blood (*litteris rutilantibus*), his last will on his buckler or the scabbard of his sword, or on the ground with the point of his weapon; and this testament, even if unfinished, was valid, on the one condition that no doubt could exist as to the intentions of the testator.<sup>1</sup>

The testamentary formula was imperative, as if to preserve the character of a law emanating from the people: *Tilius mihi*

<sup>1</sup> *Cod.* vi. 21, 15, and *Digest*, xxix. 1, 35. The last text is from Paulus, and consequently of the beginning of the third century; but the *Institutes* cite (ii. 11, *proem.*) a rescript of Trajan on this question.

*heres esto*, "Let Titius be my heir." Then followed the clauses in favor of the second heritors and legatees. The practice of leaving by will something to friends, and even to the Emperor, became general under the Empire. This remembrance by the deceased was a mark of esteem or gratitude which flattered the receiver; Cicero boasted of having in this way received twenty million sesterces. Sometimes the people inherited; Julius Caesar bequeathed his gardens at Rome to the public, and three hundred sesterces to each citizen.

On the first line of the will was written in large letters the name of the testator, on the second that of the heir. "When the old man opens his will before you," says Tiresias in Horace to Ulysses, "decline reading it; but yet look sharp, and catch sight of the second line of the first page."

The principal heir had the charge of continuing the worship of the testator, of honoring his domestic gods, and of making the same sacrifices: *hereditas cum sacris*. This was often a heavy and costly burden. Fortunate the man to whom an heritage fell without the duty of sacrifices; he will have only to shed some tears, to praise the deceased before the Rostra, and to erect a sepulchre. Hence the inscription, *ex testamento posuit*, or *de suo posuit*, which is so often met with on many tombs.

Those incapable of making a will were, — persons under the authority of another (*sub manu*), those under age, lunatics, spend-thrifts who had been pronounced incapable of managing their own affairs, Latini Juniani, the civilly dead, and the banished. The will of a Roman who died a prisoner to the enemy was valid, the testator being regarded as having ceased to exist from the moment when his captivity began. Finally, Hadrian decided that public slaves could dispose by will of the half of their *peculium*, and women of their whole fortune, after obtaining the authorization of their guardian. We have already seen how little this condition was a restraint, and praetorian law, reducing this formality still more, declared valid the will of a woman who had no authorization; all the heritors by the civil law were put aside, with the exception of the patron.

The fragments still existing of the will of Dasumius, an ex-consul of Trajan's time, will help us to understand this last act in the life of the Romans.



Dasumius appoints first, as the inheritor of one twelfth and on condition that he will take his name, one of his friends, *amicus rarissimus*. This friend will be obliged, in the hundred days allowed, to accept or reject the inheritance, which in default will pass to the testator's aunt, a woman *pientissima*, and in case of her default, to the young daughter of Servianus. This Servianus was one of the greatest personages of the Empire. Dasumius gives him the reversion of the succession; and in case he should not accept it, substitutes concurrently for him several persons, among whom are four women, one of whom is his kinswoman and the other his nurse. The heirs being appointed, Dasumius charges them to remit a pound's weight of gold to some of his friends, who are all in the front rank of Roman society, among others to Pliny and to Tacitus; the Emperor himself is put down for a legacy. Lastly, he gives a large sum to a commission of architects and jurisconsults for the erection at Cordova, his native city, of monuments bearing his name.

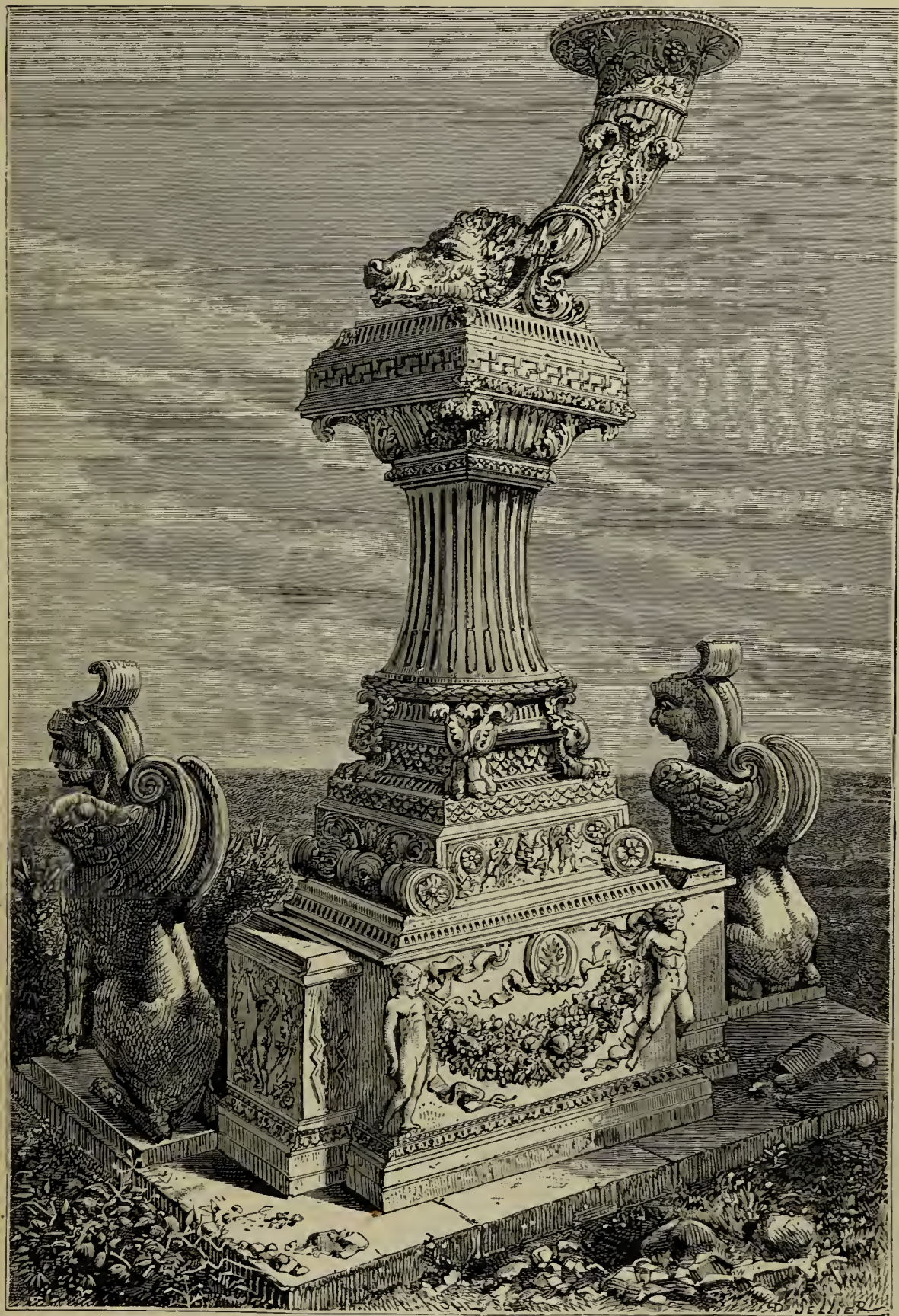
After gifts to his family and friends, to political or social magnates, and to his native city, Dasumius remembers his slaves and nurse. He has already named the last his heir, but only in default of heirs named before her, whose acceptance will probably render her appointment invalid; so to make sure that she shall not be in want in her old age, he leaves her a small farm on a hill-side, with the household furniture, the slaves to cultivate the ground, and two others to fish in the river or the neighboring lake.

Then follows a list of slaves who are to be emancipated, with their children, on condition of their rendering their accounts (*rationibus redditis*), as a proof that they had a certain management of funds. In order that, on quitting servitude, they may not fall into penury, the testator bequeaths to each a thousand denarii and burdens the estate with the payment, — first, of the dues of enfranchisement, that is to say, a tax of one twentieth; then to form a fund, the interest of which will provide clothes to his freedmen as long as they live.<sup>1</sup>

Dasumius possessed near Rome an estate worth six million sesterces. He decides to have his tomb erected there, and to devote

<sup>1</sup> Trimalchio also bequeaths to one of his slaves some landed property, with liberty for his *contubernalis*; to another a block of houses (*insula*), and a furnished bed (Petron., *Satyr.* 71).





CINERARY URN OF AN IMPERIAL SLAVE (PIRANESI, VASI, II. 99).





the rental of this property to the support of his freedmen and their posterity. He had previously given them clothing; now he promises them and their children a living also. He even opens his tomb to them; all whom he emancipated will as they die repose near him, one only excepted, who has shown ingratitude and is excluded from all share of the estate.<sup>1</sup> This careful solicitude for the nurse, his freedmen, and the slaves, of which there are other proofs, shows how little dependence we ought to place on declamations in prose and verse against this Roman society, in which the slave really formed part of the family, and where the client was the expected guest of the patron.

The ability of disposing of property by will, absolute at first, later restricted, if there were natural heirs, to three quarters of the estate,<sup>2</sup> was very great; the ability to receive was not so. The restrictions imposed by the laws *Julia* and *Papia-Poppaea*, and the practice of appointing heirs in default, favored, for those who fulfilled the conditions required by the laws, a pursuit which has justly exercised the wit of the satiric poets.

The rich and childless old man is loaded with attentions and caresses. If he is ill, the porticos of the temple are hung with *ex-votos*; if he has a lawsuit, the would-be heir is eager to testify in his behalf. Some carry the courage of their avidity so far as to pay court to rich old widows. So with Gemellus, "who is eager to marry Maronilla. He begs and beseeches, makes splendid gifts; and yet there is no creature living uglier than she. What can be the charm? She has a bad cough."<sup>3</sup> But cunning outwits cunning; some who have property to leave know also how to make their would-be heirs useful.<sup>4</sup> They make a new will every few days, every time receiving new presents;<sup>5</sup> they feign infirmities, dangerous illnesses. "Because Naevia breathes with difficulty and has a severe cough, you think, Bithynicus, that your prospects are good. You are in error. Naevia deceives you; she will not die."<sup>6</sup> Torgilianus makes it a rule to be ill ten times in a year; ten times he recovers and receives gifts.<sup>7</sup> His house is burned, and a finer one is built for him, while slander says that he took

<sup>1</sup> Wilmanns, 314.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 246, note.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, *Epigr.* i. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Martial, *ibid.* v. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Id., ibid.* ii. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 18.



no pains to extinguish the fire.<sup>1</sup> Six months later, he dies ; the will is opened in the presence of a magistrate. Torgilianus has left the rapacious train that attended him nothing but the duty of weeping at his tomb. Torrentius relates that on an ancient marble he has seen a testamentary inscription whereon the old man left his flatterers a rope with which to hang themselves. Great is the disappointment ; but there must needs be now and then a check, or the trade would be too attractive. Nero was a victim to one of these devices against impatient heirs. He desired the fortune of Vindex ; and without further ceremony he would have taken it, and with it the head of the future avenger of Rome, had not Vindex deceived the Emperor by the aid of drugs which had the effect of giving him a corpse-like pallor. The terrible fortune-hunter thought that this time there was no occasion to hasten a death which seemed coming of itself.<sup>2</sup>

This pursuit of wills and these tricks to put the pursuers off the scent would have served simply to make the plot of comedies, had not celibacy, that social egotism, owing to the court paid to it, been adorned with new charms. "What need have I of children?" says an old fellow in Plautus. "I live well, happily, peacefully, doing just as I please. I shall divide my fortune among my friends: they show all sorts of little attentions to me, they come to see what I am doing, what I desire; before daylight they are at the door, inquiring if I have slept well; they are the same as children to me."<sup>3</sup> The worthy man does not deceive himself. It is his property that they are seeking for (*bona mea inhiant*). But no matter; after me the deluge! Meanwhile this lucrative pseudo-paternity seems to himself preferable to the true, with its purer but more costly joys. For some men, childlessness is a bounty of Heaven; some fathers go so far as to disown their sons to obtain the advantages of celibacy.<sup>4</sup>

Such were the results, even under the Republic, of the entire freedom of the testator, and such they must ever be when law does not defend the natural heir against adventurers of every

<sup>1</sup> Martial, *Epigr.*, iii. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xx. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Miles glor.* 707 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> This is not an exaggeration. "We live," says the younger Pliny, "in a time when the devotion lavished on those who are childless (*orbitatis præmia*) make a man regret that he has a son." Cf. Tac., *Ann.* xv. 19, and Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.* 19, 2.

kind who live by this prey. Yet, considered in itself and in its usual results, this right, which gives a man the means of securing his fortune to the most deserving of his children, his friends or fellow-citizens, would seem to be the necessary sanction of the paternal authority, if only the father be protected from undue influence. The abuses have naturally been made the most of, and we see them only, so that they conceal from us the good done by this testamentary legislation, which kept up discipline in families and permitted the testator to remember that he was not a father only, but also a citizen. We shall see in the following chapter how many donations were made to cities or to men who had done honor to their country. The French law of equal division among the children has dried up the source of noble and patriotic acts of liberality. We intended in this way to make the family strong, and have in reality weakened it. By the opposite system Rome powerfully supported it.

When no will had been made, the estate was divided according to an order of hereditary established by law. Originally, there came first the man's own heirs (*sui heredes*),—that is to say, the legitimate or adopted children of the deceased, the wife *in manu*, and the descendants of children pre-deceased; in default of such, the nearest agnate,—that is to say, the brother and the sister; failing them, the *gens*.

Thus, on the one hand, the law excluded from the paternal succession emancipated sons and those who, having obtained citizenship at the same time with their father, were not under his authority; on the other, it gave the mother and children no right to reciprocal succession. By the side of this rigorous system of civil law, praetorian law created a new one, which Trajan definitely established.<sup>1</sup> First came the children, even if emancipated; then the persons named by the law; in the third place, the *cognati*, or natural relatives, as far as the sixth degree, and, in certain cases, to the seventh. Each degree came in its turn in default of those preceding, and all the *cognati* of the same degree shared *per capita*. After the *cognati* the praetor mentioned the surviving husband or wife. Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius ameliorated still further this legislation in the direction of natural heredity. The

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Panegy.* 37-39.



right of the mother was only surpassed by that of the proper heirs; she took her place with the sisters of the deceased, and the children were permitted to inherit from their mother.<sup>1</sup>

When neither testamentary nor legal heir was found, the estate fell to the public treasury. The people were also the heir, by the title of "common father,"<sup>2</sup> to estates which the laws relating to childless heirs took away from celibates and the *orbi*; that is to say, those who did not at all possess the status of father.

<sup>1</sup> The *decem personae* — *i. e.* the father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson, granddaughter, brother, and sister — were at that time exempt from the tax of the twentieth (*Collat. leg. Mos. et Rom. XX. ix.*).

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* iii. 28.























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